

Antiquities of the History
THE

HISTORY

OF THE

WORLD

Translated from the LATIN of

J U S T I N:

WITH

Some necessary REMARKS by way of *Notes*;

AND A

PREFATORY DISCOURSE,

Concerning the *Advantages* that ought chiefly to be
had in view, in reading this or any ancient Historian.

To this new Translation is subjoined, an exact
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE
of the Affairs of the WORLD, from the
CREATION to the Birth of CHRIST.

*The Whole very useful for all Readers of HISTORY;
Beginners more especially.*

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The SECOND EDITION.

L O N D O N:

Printed for S. BIRT, and B. DOD, both in *Ave-Mary Lane*.

M.DCCCLXX.

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P R E F A T O R Y
D I S C O U R S E,
C O N C E R N I N G

The ADVANTAGES Masters ought chiefly to have in view, in reading any ancient Historian, *JUSTIN* in particular, with young scholars.

GOOD Translators of ancient authors are useful in a double capacity. First, to supply the want of acquaintance with Greek and Latin, to those whose more useful employments do not leave them time to study these languages, though they now and then afford them leisure hours for reading books in their own tongue. And indeed, as, to bring the experiences, the observations, the discoveries, the sentiments of ancient sages, about men and things, and, what is chief, the history of ancient times within the compass of those, who, being busied in carrying on the arts and traffic which are the supports of human life, have no other resource for their instruction and improvement, but their native language, is one of the best offices, one of the greatest services the learned can render to such; so it is a compensation, a tribute they earned owe to them, in return for the exemption from bodily labour, and the agreeable freedom and leisure of study they enjoy. In fine, if the trading or working, which is by far the more useful part of a nation,

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tion, hath a right to knowledge, to acquaintance with ancient history, from which they may reap not only amusement in hours of ease and recess from business, but very profitable instruction and information: or if any service be due from the learned to them, they have a right, if not to exact, yet to expect the labour of translating useful ancient books, from those who give themselves up to the study of the ancient languages. And accordingly, the learned of this class have thought themselves obliged to render this service to the public.

II. Another use of Translations, which hath no small influence in engaging the learned to take the trouble of translating ancient books, is facilitating the learning of the dead languages to young scholars, whose circumstances afford them the advantage of a liberal education; that they may not be disgusted at study, by the difficulty of making progress in any of the learned languages, without such help; and that as little of their precious time as possible may be wasted upon the mere acquisition of words. But the use of literal Translations hath been fully evinced by the very ingenious Mr. *John Clarke*, in the preface to his *JUSTIN*, and his other tracts upon the education of youth in grammar schools; and therefore I shall not insist longer upon this head.

This Translation of *JUSTIN* is designed to serve both these purposes; and for that reason it is as literal as the idiom of our language permits. The author's transitions and connexions, and the general turn of his phrases are preserved as much as could be done, without rendering the translation a very unpleasing piece of English. Nay, I won't venture to say, that a delicate English ear may not now and then be offended at certain harshnesses of style in it, which might easily have been avoided, had the Translator proposed no other end to himself, besides the information of an English reader: but these will very readily be pardoned, for the sake of the learners of Latin to whom a looser translation of these passages would not be of great benefit, by all who think giving proper assistances to them, a purpose not to be sacrificed to mere melody. We need not recommend *JUSTIN* to the schools; this author hath long had his proper place there: but it can never
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be unseasonable to put youth in mind of what they ought chiefly to attend to, and impress upon their minds in reading historians. And I wish there was no occasion to tell masters, that they ought to have something of more importance in their view, than the mere explication of words and syntax in all their lessons. For the sake of beginners therefore in the study of history, *J U- S T I N* being one of the first authors such will be directed to, I shall here prefix some remarks upon the principal advantages of that study. And indeed the following considerations will shew it to be the most useful and important of all studies: a study, which young people, those of birth and fortune more especially, ought early to be guided into the right method of carrying on; and a study, to the profitable pursuit of which, the direction and assistance of persons of experience and acquaintance with history and the world, is absolutely necessary.

Every one who understands that by history is meant a register of human affairs, in which great actions are traced to their motives or springs, and the characters of their authors are developed, will forthwith give his assent and approbation to all the eloges bestowed upon this kind of writing: such as these of Cicero, who calls it, “the light of all times; the faithful depository of events; the impartial witness of truth; the source of prudence and good counsel; the rule of life and conduct; the school of manners.” “Without its aids we would, says Seneca, during our whole life, remain shut up within the limits of the age and country in which our lot falls; be confined within the narrow circle of our own particular experiences and observations; and so continue all our lives in a sort of infancy, quite strangers to the rest of the universe, and in profound ignorance of all that preceded our existence, and all that environs us. What is that small number of years (saith he) which composes the longest life? What is the largest extent of country we can occupy, or run through upon this globe? What are they, but imperceptible points, in respect of the vast regions of the universe, and of that long

“ succession of ages, which hath been in a constant flux
 “ since the origin of the world? yet to these almost
 “ imperceptible points is our knowledge limited, if
 “ we do not call history to our assistance, which opens
 “ to our view all the ages and countries of the world,
 “ and brings us into acquaintance and commerce with
 “ all the great men of antiquity; which sets before our
 “ eyes all their actions, all their enterprizes, all their
 “ virtues, and all their failures or vices; and which,
 “ by the sage reflexions it suggests to us, or leads us in-
 “ to, procures us, in a very short time, a prudence, or
 “ foresight, that anticipates experience, far superior to
 “ the lessons of the ablest masters.”

We may say, that history is the common school of
 mankind, equally open and useful to great and small,
 to princes and to subjects; but much more necessary to
 the Great, than to others. For amidst that crowd of
 flatterers, with which they are besieged on all hands,
 who are ever admiring and praising them, *that is*, cor-
 rupting and empoisoning their minds, how can modest
 truth find admittance to them, or make its humble voice
 to be heard amidst such a tumult and confused noise?
 How can she take the courage to tell them the duties
 and obligations of grandeur and power, and shew them
 wherein true glory consists; let them see, that if they
 will take the trouble of tracing their dignity to its ori-
 ginal, they cannot choose but clearly perceive, that
they are made and appointed for the people, and not the
people for them, as Cicero speaks? How dare she dis-
 cover their faults to them, or unfold by anticipation,
 the just judgment posterity will pronounce upon them,
 and thus dissipate that thick delusive mist, with which
 their intoxicating grandeur and power over-clouds their
 minds?

Truth cannot render these important, these so neces-
 sary services to the great and powerful, without the aids
 of history; which alone is in possession of the right of
 speaking to them with due liberty; and which carries
 this right to the point of passing a sovereign sentence
 upon the actions even of kings. In vain are their men-
 tal abilities boasted of; in vain is their wit, the com-
 prehension

prehenſion of their judgment, their courage admired ; or their exploits and conqueſts celebrated ; if all be not founded upon truth and juſtice, hiſtory will treat them as they deſerve, and ſet them forth to ſhow in their genuine colours. And how doth it conſider or regard the greater part of renowned conquerors, but as public scourges, enemies of mankind, deſtroyers of nations ; who, puſhed by blind and reſtleſs ambition, carried deſolation through the world, like a fire, or an inundation ? It exhibits a Philip, an Alexander the Great, a Caligula, a Nero, a Domitian, who were ſo loaded with flattering praiſes in their lives, as become, after their death, the horror and execration of mankind : whereas we find by it, that an Epaminondas, a Pelopidas, a Titus, and an Antonin, are yet mention'd in the world with pleaſure and delight, becauſe they never employ'd their power, but in doing good. Hiſtory, even while princes and great men are alive ; is, in ſome degree, to them, in lieu of that tribunal among the ancient Egyptians, before which, princes as well as private perſons, were cited after their death ; and ſhews them by advance, the impartial ſentence which ſhall render their infamy indelible for ever. In fine, 'tis hiſtory, as a very celebrated hiſtorian (Tacitus) expreſſes it, that ſtamps the ſeal of immortality upon truly good and great actions, and burns flagitious ones with a mark of ignominy, that no length of time can efface. Unknown or miſtaken merit, and oppreſſed virtue, expect redreſs and juſtice from this incorruptible tribunal, and appeal to it ; and it will render them abundant compenſation for the iniquitous treatment they ſuffered from their contemporaries ; for, without reſpect of perſons, being no longer awed by power that is no more, it never fails to condemn, with inexorable ſeverity, every unjuſt abuſe of authority and power.

There is no age or condition of mankind which may not draw equal advantages from hiſtory : and what hath been ſaid of princes and conquerors, extends, in certain proportions, to all perſons in high ſtations ; to miniſters of ſtate, generals of armies, magiſtrates ; ſuperiors of all kinds, civil or eccleſiaſtical ; fathers and mothers in

their own families ; masters and mistresses in their little domestic republics : in a word, to all in authority over others. For it often happens, that persons in a very narrow inconsiderable elevation, have more pride, arrogance, and capriciousness, than kings, and push their arbitrary humour to a greater height. 'Tis therefore highly expedient that history should give useful lessons to all sorts of persons ; and hold before them, with an unsuspected hand, a faithful mirror, in which they may behold their faults, and at the same time, discern their duties and obligations.

History therefore, when it is well taught, becomes a school of morality to mankind, of all conditions and ranks. It discovers the deformity and fatal consequences of vices, and unmask's false virtues ; it disabuses men of their popular errors and prejudices ; and despoiling riches of all its enchanting and dazzling pomp and magnificence, demonstrates by a thousand examples, which are more perswasive than reasonings, that there is nothing truly great or praise-worthy, but untainted honour and probity. From the esteem and admiration which the most corrupt cannot withhold from the great and good deeds she sets before them, history obliges us to conclude, that virtue is man's true good, and that alone which can render any one truly great and estimable. History teaches us to respect virtue for its own sake, and to discern its intrinsic beauty through the thickest veils, poverty, adversity, obscurity, or even obloquy and defamation, may cast over it. As, on the other hand, it inspires into us a thorough contempt, hatred, and abhorrence of vice, however richly it may be bedeck'd and adorn'd ; even tho' it should happen to be cloathed in regal purple, seated upon a throne, and holding a scepter in its hand.

But to keep within the bounds of my present design, I look upon history as the first master we ought to give to youth ; being equally fit to amuse and to instruct them ; to improve their understandings and their hearts, by conveying into their minds an infinity of facts, no less agreeable and entertaining, than edifying. Nothing is so proper for awakening and piquing their curiosity,
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and thereby begetting a taste for study; which is the first point to be gained in education, and is indeed the chief thing. Accordingly, with relation to the institution of youth, it hath been looked upon by the considering, in all times and ages of the world, as a fundamental maxim, that the study of history should go first, and prepare the way for the other sciences. Plutarch informs us, that Cato the elder, that famous censor of Rome, whose virtue hath done so great honour to that republic, and who took particular care of his son's education himself, and would not entrust it in any other hands but his own, composed, for his use, a choice collection of beautiful pieces of Roman history, on purpose, said he, that this infant, without going out of his father's house, might contract an acquaintance with the greatest men of his country, and be enabled to form himself upon the ancient models of probity and virtue.

But it is not necessary to insist longer upon proving the utility of history: 'tis a point none calls into question: the great affair is to know how to reap real advantage by this study; or what ought to be observed and done for this effect. And this is what I am now to *attempt* to offer some observations upon.

In order to profit by history, one must be prepared, taught and inured to distinguish what is worthy of admiration and esteem, from what merits our contempt, or at least our indifference. History abounds with shining actions, which are not virtuous or praise-worthy: and readers, guided by their own passions, or false prepossessions, may take for an action to be imitated, whatever is conformable to their humours and notions: but if we would render history a school of morality, due care must be taken to lead students, by proper reflections upon actions and events, to just notions of characters and enterprizes; and to secure them against the corrupt influence of outward pomp and splendour, by accustoming them to penetrate, beyond outward appearances, into the intrinsic nature and value of things, and to distinguish between the gaudy or glittering, and solid, substantial, and abiding worth. The great lesson in morals, and, consequently, the great lesson to be
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learned

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learned from history, is to form a just judgment of external wealth and power, of riches, magnificence, splendour, luxury, conquests, fame, glory; and likewise of the internal abilities, talents, and virtues of the mind; and to be able to discern wherein true glory and solid happiness lies; where, and where alone, unallay'd contentment can be found. In the age we live in, every thing conspires to insinuate early into young minds the desire of riches, as that which makes the chief joy and honour of life; and a dread and contempt of poverty, as that alone which makes miserable, or brings disgrace and shame. Avarice is now the universal passion: ambition is no more. But 'till the mind is fortified against this fatal error, none of the great virtues can grow up in it. Such a prepossession will choak them in their first budding, if perchance there are any seeds of them in the soul. Now the ancient history of Greece and Rome furnishes us with noble examples for correcting this false prejudice, and instructing young minds in the true use, and in the vile abuse of wealth. We find in antiquity a whole state revolting against a representation of riches as the most desirable object in human life. Euripides had put into the mouth of Bellerophon a magnificent speech in praise of wealth, which ended in this sentiment; "riches are the sovereign good of mankind, and they justly excite the admiration of gods, and of men." This saying shocked the whole Athenian audience, and raised their indignation to such a pitch, that they unanimously rose up against the poet, and would have expelled him out of the city, if he had not entreated them to wait for the result of the piece, in which this adorer of wealth miserably perished. However extraordinary this instance may appear in modern times, antiquity affords us yet stronger examples of generosity, public spirit, and what is inseparable from it, contempt of private riches. In those ancient and heroic times (when men thought that to be necessary which was virtuous) the nobility of Athens having the people too much engaged in their debt, that there remained no other question among them, than which of them should be king, no sooner heard

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heard *Solon* speak, than they quitted their debts, and restored the commonwealth; which ever after held a solemn and annual feast, called the *Sisactia*, or *Recission*, in memory of that action. Nor is this example the phoenix; for at the institution by *Lycurgus*, the nobility having estates, as ours here, in the hands of *Laconia*, upon no other consideration than the model of the commonwealth proposed by him, threw them up, to be parcell'd by his *Agrarian*. The whole history of *Sparta* is one continued instance of the glorious influences of true magnanimity, which makes, not private fortune, but justice and public good, the rule of its conduct, and looks down with detestation upon the most redundant riches vice can offer; and of the fatal effects of prevailing avarice to public states. Amongst the *Romans*, in their best times, the same noble sentiments prevailed almost universally. “Every one (says *Valerius Maximus*) fought, not to enrich himself, but his country; and chose rather to be poor in an opulent state, than to be rich themselves in a poor republic.” And we may soon see, from history, that to the prevalence of those generous sentiments, *Rome* owed its power and glory; and to their decline, its fall. It was in this school, and in the bosom of poverty, as *Horace* tells us, that the *Camilli*, the *Curii*, the *Fabricii*, and all the ancient *Roman* heroes, were formed. And while the *Roman* republic was in its greatest glory, it was usual for the great men in it to die, without leaving enough behind them to portion their daughters, or even defray the expences of a decent burial. I might mention many noble examples in ancient history, which furnish abundant occasion for inculcating upon youth the beauty of generosity, and the vileness of avarice; and for arming them against all the enchanting charms of wealth on the one hand, and all the horrors of poverty on the other. *Cimon*, the *Athenian* general, we are told by *Plutarch*, made no other use of his riches; he thought they were given by providence for no other end, but that he might thereby have the god-like satisfaction of relieving the distressed, dispelling misery, and spreading happiness far and wide, in proportion to

the deserts of his fellow-citizens. Aratus, the Achæan general, gained universal love, and saved his country, by applying the rich presents he received from kings, in composing and calming the dissensions which reign'd in it; in paying the debts of some, and in supplying the necessities of other fellow-citizens; in ransoming captives; and in every act of generosity and beneficence. Philopœmon, commonly called by historians, the last of the Greeks, *i. e.* the last in whom the true Grecian public spirit prevailed, in that degree to which Greece owed its liberty, glory, and fame, employed all he had taken from the enemy, in furnishing his fellow-citizens with horses and arms, and in redeeming the prisoners of war.

To mention no more instances, let young gentlemen, when they read the character of Epaminondas, which is so well drawn by Justin, be asked what they think of such an example, when compared with those narrow souls, who live as if they were born for themselves only; and who, employing their wealth to gratify their appetites and passions, to pamper their bellies, or flatter their vanity, are of no advantage to their neighbours, relations, or friends; and seem not to feel the ties of blood, of friendship, or of gratitude; nor to be sensible of any obligations upon them to their family, their country, or to merit. Let them oppose these pictures one to the other, and by the contrast, the beauty of virtue will appear with a force that cannot fail to make its way into young hearts very speedily, and to leave impressions there, not to be easily erased.

Young minds are now so accustomed, from their infancy, to admire outward show, that representations of external magnificence in history are very apt strongly to attract their attention, and to strike them with wonder, that is quickly followed with emulation. But let masters take occasion from history, to correct the false ideas of external ornaments, that are, without attention to the consequences of them, too often instilled into youth, even by virtuous parents, at the time that the greatest care ought to be had of the notions and habits

habits which are excited and formed in their minds. Let them be taught to reflect, that dress, equipage, and other such outward trappings, have nothing truly great or estimable in them; because they make no part of us, but are without us, and absolutely foreign to us. It is in such things the greater part of mankind place their grandeur, as if they were incorporated, so to speak, with every thing that environs them: these things greatness them in their own fancy, and they imagine they likewise greatness them in the eyes of others. But let us set apart the glittering of dress and equipage, and search into the real character of such persons; and what are they but, in comparison, as dirty walls hung with fine tapestry, as Seneca expresses it; under this splendour and magnificence lurks littleness and meanness of soul. We shall find all the great men of antiquity despising ostentation, gawdery, and pageantry. And let the youth learn from the history of Epamirondas, Philopœmon, Scipio, and many others, not to judge of men by the exterior, but to look through the outside into the heart and character of the man. What can be more simple or obvious than this reflection; that uncommon merit may lie hid under a very mean dress, as a very costly and shining garment may cover a very base and flagitious heart. Do we judge of horses by their trappings? We read even of women, in ancient times, who were proof against all the dazzling lustre of jewels and finery. One very remarkable instance of this kind is worth mentioning. The famous Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, is a very distinguished name in history. There was not a more illustrious family, or a richer at Rome. Valerius Maximus tells us, that a lady of Campania came to see her, and staying all night, took an opportunity of displaying, with no small ostentation, all her ornaments, all her jewels, rings, bracelets, and other shining gew gaws, which the ancients called *Mundum Muliebrem*. Cornelia dextrously prolonged the conversation, 'till her children, who were at school, came home; and when they were returned, pointing to them, she said, "These are my jewels, my ornaments." One needs only attend to what he feels upon

upon comparing these two women, to discover how much the noble simplicity of the one is above the vain magnificence of the other. And indeed, what merit is there in purchasing precious stones, and other ornaments, to make a vain shew of them, and in being able to discourse of nothing else but dress? And, on the contrary, what nobleness of mind was it for a lady, of the first quality more especially, to condemn all tinsel, and to place her honour and glory in the good education of her children; to spare no expence to obtain that end; and thus to shew, that greatness of mind is not the property of one sex. What hath been said concerning fortifying young minds against the allures of wealth, pomp, and finery, may easily be applied to table-luxury, and sumptuous palaces. But not having time to insist upon every thing in a short Preface, we shall only add to what hath been said, some reflections upon the use that ought to be made of history, to prevent or extirpate false notions of birth or nobility, dignities and honours; and above all, of conquests.

It must be acknowledged, that there is in nobleness of extraction, and the antiquity of families, some powerful charm that attracts esteem and regard. The respect which it is natural to pay to those of noble descent, is a kind of homage that we think ourselves obliged to render to the memory of their ancestors, on account of their eminent services to the public. It is, as it were, the continuation of the payment of a debt which we could not fully discharge to themselves, and which, for that reason, ought to be acquitted to their posterity. But besides the gratitude which engages us not to confine our respect for great men to their lives, whose generosity was not limited within these narrow bounds, but extended by them to the remotest ages; the public interest demands that we should pay to their offspring a tribute of honour, which may be, with relation to them, an obligation to maintain and perpetuate in their family the reputation of their progenitors, and to pique themselves upon perpetuating also the virtues which rendered their forefathers so illustrious. But that this honour we render to noble birth, may be real homage,
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it must be voluntary, and proceed from the heart. If any one pretends to exact it as a debt, or to force it, he loses all the right he had to it, and becomes contemned and hated. The self-love, natural to man, rebels against such pride and arrogance. And is it indeed so great a glory to be able to count a long race of forefathers, eminent by their virtues, if we bear no resemblance to them? Can the merit of others become ours? The only true source therefore of nobility, is virtue and merit. We have seen nobles dishonour their birth by base actions; and we have seen persons of ignoble extraction, exalt and ennoble their family by their glorious virtues. It is praise-worthy to support the glory of ancestors by actions conformable to their reputation; but it is also glorious to leave a title to our posterity, which we did not derive from our progenitors, but purchase by our own merit. Pride on account of their birth, is the disease to which, as *Salust* remarks, the nobility have ever been very incident; and therefore history ought to be employ'd to correct this vanity, than which there is not a greater obstacle to laudable ambition, and all valuable improvements. But what period of history doth not afford instances for chastising, for shewing the ridicule of this vice? How absurd would it be, to make a shew with borrowed riches? But sure it is not less so, to expect honour and esteem on account of the merits of our forefathers, which upbraid our degeneracy, and render our baseness and wickedness at once more conspicuous, and more shameful? As for dignities, or high offices in the state, and the honours annexed to them; surely there is no merit in possessing them, if one be not qualified for them, or does not exercise them for the great and sole purpose of authority and power, the public good. They do not confer merit, they only give occasion of displaying it; and where there is no virtue, they bring forth to view the weakness or vileness that might otherwise, being less hurtful, have been less observed. With regard to them, how amiable, how great, how truly noble, was the conduct of Epaminondas, according to the character our author gives of him! “ ’Tis uncertain (saith he) whether
“ whether

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“ whether the man or the general were more to be
“ esteemed in him ; for if he aspired after empire, it
“ was not for his own, but for his country’s advantage.
“ So little covetous was he of money, in the whole
“ course of his life, that he left not enough to defray
“ the expences of his funeral. Neither was he more
“ desirous of honours than of wealth ; for all the offices
“ he so worthily sustained, were forced upon him ; and
“ he so well acquitted himself in every station, that he
“ did not receive, but give a new lustre to the greatest
“ employments.” None can read this passage without
feeling wherein solid glory consists, and what is true
ambition. Let not masters therefore pass such examples
in history, ’till they have fully rivetted upon the minds
of their scholars, a just notion of the end of civil digni-
ties ; a true idea of glory ; and fired them with an am-
bition of qualifying themselves for being useful in the
world ; which will never cause any of those disturbances
false ambition does, its aim being public tranquillity
and good, whereas the aim of the other is power and
wealth, cost what it will to those, for whose benefit a
truly great mind will sacrifice every private enjoyment.
Above all, it is necessary to guard young minds against
the false and hurtful notions the encomiums given to
military courage and prowess may engender in young
minds. Let them be taught to examine with due cool-
ness and indifference, impartially, and with eyes en-
lighten’d and guided by reason, into the real merits of
those famous heroes of antiquity, that make such a fi-
gure and noise in history ; and they will find, that those
illustrious conquerors, who are set forth in such a pom-
pous dazzling light by flattering panegyrits, have ever
been regarded, by the wiser part of mankind, as savage
destructive monsters ; and were indeed actuated in all
their enterprizes, by vanity, cruelty, or avarice. Those
conquerors of the world, whose exploits raise the ad-
miration of the vulgar, were miserable slaves to their
own passions ; the meanest, the basest of passions. What
else but madness can we call the impetuous fury which
pushed Alexander into remote and unknown countries,
to ravage them ? A pirate, as Cicero informs us, told
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him the truth, when he asked him, what right he had to infest the seas; for he answered with undaunted freedom, "The same you have to pillage the universe. But because I rob in a small ship, they call me a pirate; and because you rob with a large fleet, they call you a conqueror." Every man, whose mind is not quite over-run with passions, that bear down within his breast all the sentiments of humanity natural to man, and therefore very strong in young minds, if they have not had a very bad education, and very pernicious examples before their eyes from their tenderest years; every one who reads the lives of the illustrious Greeks and Romans, in Plutarch, or Justin's compendious view of all the more celebrated personages of antiquity, and their exploits, if he examines himself, will find, at the bottom of his heart, that 'tis not to a Philip, an Alexander, or a Cæsar, he gives the preference above others; that they are not, in his sentiment, the greatest and most accomplished persons, or such as have done the greatest honour to human nature; that 'tis not them he judges worthy of his esteem, love, and veneration, or of the high praises some have given them. But that youth may be able to form a just and sound judgment of these famous conquerors, it is necessary to teach them to distinguish and separate their justly estimable qualities, from those that are blameable. While they render justice to their courage, their activity, their address and dexterity in public offices, their prudence and foresight; they should be led into regret, that they knew not the use they ought to have made of these great talents; and that they should have misemployed them in the service of vice: qualities highly valuable in themselves, but designed by nature to serve virtue or benevolence; and only glorious, when they are applied to do the great good that may be done by the proper exertion of them. For this end, this is the maxim that must be strongly enforced upon young minds, "*Nihil honestum esse potest quod justitia vacat*;" and that if it is self-interest, and not public good, that rouses to encounter dangers, such a disposition does not merit the name of courage, but of savage ferocity; and that true fortitude

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titude of mind consists in looking upon vice, as a greater evil than poverty or death. So even Horace teaches, lib. 4. od. 9.

*Duramque callet pauperiem pati,
Pejusque letbo flagitium timet :
Non ille pro caris amicis
Aut patria timidus perire.*

Let them be taught to regard probity, bold and undaunted probity, directed by prudence, as true glory; and to look not only upon beauty, strength of body, and other outward embellishments, but even upon mental accomplishments and improvements, such as extensive knowledge, eloquence, courage, and the like, as only meritorious in proportion to the good use made of them; and to attend, in particular, how much modesty adds to their price and beauty. Let them learn early, from proper examples, wherein true glory consists: that whatever is exterior to a man, whatever may be common to the good with the bad, does not render a man truly estimable: and that it is by their hearts we ought to judge of men. From hence flow great designs, great actions, great virtues: solid greatness, which cannot be imitated by pride, nor equalled by arrogance, resides in nobleness of sentiments and disposition. To be good, liberal, beneficent, generous; to put no other value upon wealth, but as it is the means of doing great good; nor upon dignities, but as they are opportunities of serving one's country; nor upon power and reputation, or credit, but as they raise one to a capacity of abashing and repressing vice, and of encouraging and rewarding virtue; to be truly good, without affecting merely to appear so; to support poverty with magnanimity; to bear injuries and affronts with patience; to stifle revenge, and render all sorts of good offices to an enemy one hath in his power; to prefer the public good to every thing; to be able to sacrifice to it his estate, his life, and even his reputation, if times require it: — This is to be truly great. Doth not Alexander appear more great in his humane, generous treatment of Darius's family,

family, than in any of his conquests? Or what action in the story of Scipio, whose life was a continued scene of great exploits, raises him higher in our admiration, than when we behold him not only giving lectures of continence and prudence to a young prince who had forgot his duty, with great gentleness and mildness; but surmounting a passion which conquers almost all mankind, and thus giving a noble example to youth of chastity, generosity, and self-command? I think, the regard that Alexander shewed to the writings of Homer, and in the sack of Thebes, to the memory of Pindar, have procured him more reputation than all his victories: and he is more worthy of admiration, when laying aside all his pomp and royalty, he held familiar conferences with the celebrated painters and sculptors of his age, than when marching at the head of an army, he spread terror all around him. The love of praise is a passion deeply fixed in the mind of every extraordinary person; and those who are most affected with it, seem most to partake of that particle of the Divinity which distinguishes mankind from the inferior creation. 'Twas an excellent observation, "That we then only despise commendation, when we cease to deserve it." 'Tis therefore the great business of education, to form early in minds a just notion of glory; and to strengthen in them a passion for honour, that will not only preserve them from every thing that is mean and dishonouring, but be continually pushing them to great and good deeds.

Our natural sense of shame and honour is the proper handle to be used in the formation of youth, for moulding their minds into a right temper and frame: and history is ever affording occasions either for exciting our aversion, or raising our emulation. Some very sage observers of human nature have thought it best to begin education by raising the aversion of young people to what they ought to hate, and thus weaning the mind from the pursuits it ought to fly. Others have thought, that the desire of imitation may be a greater incentive to the practice of what is good, than the aversion we
may

XX *A P R E F A T O R Y*

may conceive at what is blameable. History furnishes means for employing both arts, by giving representations of the bright side of human nature, as well as the dark and gloomy. And indeed, the one immediately directs us what we should do, whilst the other only shews us what we should avoid. Mr. Locke, in his excellent treatise of education, hath shewn the disadvantages of hiding the vices and corruptions of mankind from youth; and the fitness, the absolute necessity of shewing them the world as it is, as they will soon find it to be: that they, upon their entrance into the world, may neither be tempted to think they were not fairly dealt with by their instructors; nor be, thro' their ignorance of vice, and simplicity of heart, dupes to the knaves that are ever lying in wait for such a prey. Now History shews us the world as it is; it conceals none of the bad passions or wickednesses of men from us: and a skillful teacher will, in reading history with his pupils, have full opportunity of teaching them what they are to expect in the world, and to prepare them against the various shelves and rocks, to which they will be exposed during the whole voyage of life; but more especially at their first launching out into this dangerous ocean. As a sea-chart to the sailor, so is history to life; and as such, ought it to be considered and treated by instructors of youth. It shews all the different courses and bearings men may take or pursue, and all the various dangers that lie in the different steerings and navigations of life: and therefore one duly instructed in history is qualified for being his own director; and those who are not, are mere novices in the world, utter strangers to its perils and snares, and to the whole conduct of life. What pity is it then, that the philosophy of life, and History, which must go hand in hand, being as inseparable as rule and example in any other science, should not have a larger share than they commonly have in education; and that much more time should be bestowed upon the explication of certain authors, which, in the opinion of the better ancient pagan masters, ought not to be read to young people, than upon such useful arts! The great end of education

is to fit and prepare one for life: and therefore the whole course of education ought to be a course of moral lectures, illustrated and confirmed by proper examples from History, for that effect. And that history may be a compleat moral school, teachers ought to trace actions to their springs and motives in the human breast: and to shew, I. That the differences amongst mankind are not owing to different original passions, but to the different spheres and circumstances of action, in which the same passions are placed; and, II. That all appetites and passions inlaid by nature into the human frame, are of the highest use to us. As by such teaching youth will learn how appetites and affections, in themselves good and useful, degenerate, and take a vitious turn, or are mislaid into very hurtful and base passions; so they will likewise learn not to think ill of human nature, or its Author, on account of the corruptions and vices which have been so prevalent in all ages of the world; since none of the passions, whose perversions create the greatest disturbances in human society, could have been withheld from us, without rendering us incapable of very great virtues, and several truly noble pleasures. Besides, it is only by engaging youth to attend to the affections natural to the human mind, their connexions, dependencies, and bearings, and their various workings in different situations that youth can be prepared for entering into the characters of men, and for tracing actions to their causes; without which (as *Polybius*, who shews us, by reflections on proper examples at full length, what this study means) history may exhibit an agreeable or entertaining show to us; but it cannot be an useful lesson: it may satisfy our curiosity, but it is of no consequence with relation to life and conduct. These reflections, it may be said, are too deep for young minds. But doth not, must not every science advance gradually from simpler to more sublime and complex truths? and 'till education hath rendered capable of such observations, what hath it done to fit one for life? In truth, the minds of youth open and enlarge, in proportion to the proper culture bestowed upon

upon them: and, generally speaking, we are late of attaining to true and useful knowledge, merely because we are thought incapable of such instruction, 'till we are arrived to years at which we may learn from history, that the Greek and Roman youth were equally qualified for the bar, the cabinet, and the field. There is evident danger in treating youth too long in a trifling way, as mere infants, and delaying to communicate to them, in a rational way, truly solid instructions; but there is none in taking proper methods early to expand, fortify, and enrich their minds. According to the common course of education, the habits of trifling and idling, not to mention worse ones, are fixed during the first seven years; and then some sort of teaching is thought of; as if habits could be easily undone, or good lessons have any success, 'till such habits are quite destroyed. As the soil must be duly prepared before the seed be thrown into it, otherwise the best seed will be lost; so the first and most early part of education ought to be to dress the soil of the mind, or to form those habits and affections in it, which render it a proper soil for receiving and fructifying good seed; the love and desire of knowledge, the patience of thinking, docility, pliability, modesty, regard to truth, and such like dispositions, upon which the noblest virtues may easily be grafted, and from which good seed cannot fail of producing a rich crop of the most valuable fruits in human life. The reflections that have been just mention'd, are not the first that young minds ought to be led to; they are above their reach, 'till they have been for some time inured to more simple and easy ones; and much more so are enquiries into the national effects of different political constitutions; to which, however, the education of the better sort ought gradually to proceed, or it will fall far short of the liberal institution that alone can qualify for public service in the higher stations of civil society. But the observations upon morals, with which we began this discourse, will prepare them for these other more profound speculations: and they are not beyond the reach of youth;

or

at least, 'till they are understood, one is indeed in a state of childhood, and absolutely unfit for the most common offices of life. The simplest truths in morals may indeed be perplexed with verbal subtleties; but if they are preserved free from this sophistication, and exhibited to undebauched minds in their native simplicity and beauty, they never fail at once to captivate the assent of the understanding, and to procure the approbation of the heart. The principles of morality have a character of truth, which touches and persuades more than that of the principles of other human sciences: for whereas the principles of other sciences, and the particular truths which depend upon them, are only the objects of the mind, and not of the heart, the first principles of morals, and the particular rules essential to those principles, have a character of truth, which every body is capable of knowing, and which affects the mind and heart alike. The whole man is penetrated by them, and more strongly convinced of them, than of the truths of all the other human sciences. And if the mind be once tinged with a just notion of the beauty and excellence of virtue, it will soon be able to attend to the rise and progress of those vices which have pulled down the mightiest states, and to those political methods of forming and supporting the virtues by which alone states can attain to or preserve liberty and greatness: which is one of the most useful instructions that can be inculcated from history; and is indeed a truth, that the history of all ages and nations abundantly confirms. I have already got beyond the bounds of a preface, and yet have but lightly touched several very material things. I shall only add, that masters ought not to neglect or pass by several errors in *JUSTIN* unobserved: two in particular; his account of Cyrus, and his account of the Jews. And in both these matters, as well as upon other occasions, it will be of great use to read with scholars *Rollin's* excellent Summary of ancient history, from whose discourses on the method of teaching the *Belles Lettres*, many of the preceding remarks are taken; and whose discourses upon solid Glory, and the proper method of reading History, sacred and profane, cannot be too warmly recommended to the frequent, serious perusal of youth.

youth. Let me finish this discourse with a maxim often repeated by that excellent writer. "He who hath not
 " learned at school, or from his masters, to live, whatever
 " else he may have learned, hath miserably lost his time."

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THE
P R E F A C E
O F
J U S T I N.

*M*ANY Romans, and among them, some persons of consular dignity, having written the history of the Roman affairs in Greek, a foreign language; Trogus Pompeius, a person not inferior to the ancients in eloquence, whether from an emulation of their glory, or charm'd with the variety and novelty of the work, composed the history of Greece, and of the whole World, in the Latin tongue; that as our history might be read in Greek, so that of Greece might be read in our language: a great attempt, requiring uncommon resolution and application. For if to most authors who have wrote the transactions of particular princes, or of a particular people, that work appeared a matter of vast difficulty; ought not the courage of Pompey to be thought equal to that of Hercules, since in his books is contained an universal history of all ages, nations, kings, and countries? And what the Greek writers had divided amongst them, each seizing upon the subject that appeared most suitable to his genius, or most convenient for him to undertake, all that has Trogus Pompeius put together into a regular series of history,

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story, omitting nothing of which any good use could be made. Now out of these forty four volumes (for so many be published) during the leisure hours I enjoy'd in this city, I have extract'd every affair be worth the knowing; throwing aside nothing but what could neither be very pleasant in the narration, nor very useful by way of example, I have form'd, as it were, a little collection of flowers, that those who have already read the Greek history, might have wherewith to refresh their memories, and those who are not yet acquainted with it, might have information. This work I have transmitted to you, not for your instruction, but to receive your corrections: and that at the same time you might have a clear account laid before you, of the way in which I spend that vacant time, of which also, every one, according to Cato, is oblig'd to shew some useful employment. For your single approbation is a sufficient reward to me, at present, who am likely to receive ample praise from posterity, for my industry, when the detraction of envy is spent.

THE
HISTORY
OF
JUSTIN.

BOOK I.

A SUMMARY of the CHAPTERS.

- I. *The first monarchy was that of the Assyrians, under Ninus.*
- II. *The reign of Semiramis, who was at last killed by her son.*
- III. *Sardanapalus, the last king of the Assyrians.*
- IV. *The monarchy of the Medes, under Astyages the grandfather of Cyrus.*
- V. *The childhood and youth of Cyrus. The advice of Harpagus to him.*
- VI. *Cyrus nobly rewards Sybaris, his companion in the war; and deprives Astyages of his kingdom.*
- VII. *He conquers Cræsus, subdues the Lydians, and artfully keeps them under his yoke. The tragical end of Candaules.*
- VIII. *The Scythian war, which in the beginning was prosperous, but in the end fatal to Cyrus.*
- IX. *Cambyfes succeeds Cyrus, and falls by his own sword.*

The magi, supplanting the lawful heir Mergis, usurp the supreme power. Ostances, with the assistance of other princes, drives them out.

X. *Darius, by the neighing of a horse, and the cunning of his groom, becomes the third king of the Persians. Marries the daughter of Cyrus. Besieges Babylon, &c.*

CHAP. I.

AT first, the government of nations and countries was lodged in the hands of kings, who were advanced to the height of royal majesty, not by popular ambition, but on account of the merit they had acquired with the good, by their experienced moderation. Then people were not ruled by standing laws: the will of the prince was the sole law; and it being then the custom of princes, not to enlarge, but to defend their dominions; every one's kingdom was bounded within the limits of his own country. Ninus, king of the Assyrians, was the first who, out of a hitherto unknown desire of empire, broke through this ancient, and as it were hereditary usage. He it was that first made war upon his neighbours, and by war he conquer'd the nations, too ignorant in military arts to oppose him, as far as the frontier of Libya. 'Tis true, Sesostris king of Egypt, and Tanaus king of Scythia, the former of whom pierced as far as Pontus, and the latter as Egypt, are much more ancient; but their wars fell upon distant, not neighbouring countries; nor did they seek dominion for themselves, but glory for their people; and, satisfy'd with victory, they declined the government of their conquests. Ninus, by taking and keeping possession of whatever he had subdued, made the greatness of his acquired domination firm and stable; wherefore, so soon as he had subdued one neighbour, marching more powerfully against others, with the accession of those new forces, he made every victory the instrument of a new one; 'till he had overrun all the nations of the east. His last war was with Zoroastres king of the Bactrians, who is said to have invented the magick arts, and to have very carefully

dict

ied † the origin of the world, and the motions of the stars. Having killed him, he himself died soon after, leaving behind him his son Ninyas, in the state of childhood, and his wife Semiramis.

CHAP. II. She not daring to deliver up the empire to a stripling, nor yet openly to take it into her own management, since so many powerful nations could scarce be brought to obey one man, much less to submit to a woman, pretends, instead of Ninus's wife, to be his son, a boy instead of a woman; for both were of a mean stature, had a weak voice, and a great resemblance of features; wherefore she covered her arms and legs with long cloaths, and her head with a turban; and lest she should seem to hide something by this new dress, she orders all her subjects to wear the same habit, which fashion has prevailed through the whole nation ever since. Thus in the beginning of her reign dissembling her sex, she was believed to be a boy. After this, she perform'd many noble deeds, by the greatness of which, when she thought herself now raised above the reach of malice, she publickly declares who she was, and whom she had personated: neither did this confession take any thing from the dignity of her government, but rather increased the admiration of all, that a woman should not only surpass those of her sex, but even men too, in heroism. She built Babylon ‡, and surrounded it with a brick wall; a bituminous matter, which oozes out of the earth in those countries most abundantly, being laid between the bricks, instead of sand. Several other memorable acts were perform'd by this queen. For, not content with preserving the kingdom acquired by her husband, she added Ethiopia to her Empire. She also

† Here Justin confounds Zoroastres the king of the Bactrians with Zoroastres the magician, who lived many ages after him.

‡ Belus founded it; but Semiramis repaired, enlarged, and beautified it, after it had been almost wholly destroy'd by the overflowing of the Euphrates.

carried war into India *, where none, besides herself and Alexander the great, ever enter'd. At last, conceiving a criminal passion for her son, she was killed by him, having reigned two and forty years. Her son Ninyas, satisfied with the empire purchased to him by his parents, laid aside all warlike designs, and as if he had changed sexes with his mother, being seldom seen by men, grew old in the company of his women. His successors following this example, transacted all state affairs by their ministers. The Assyrians, who were afterwards called Syrians, held their empire a thousand three hundred years.

CHAP. III. Sardanapalus was the last that reigned over them; a man more effeminate than any woman. Arbactus, whom he had appointed his lieutenant of Media, being with difficulty admitted to see him, after great entreaty (a favour never allowed to any before him) found him spinning of purple, amidst his herds of concubines, in the habit of a woman, but much surpassing those of that sex in the softness of his body, and the lasciviousness of his eyes, and distributing their several tasks among the girls. This sight raised his indignation, that so many brave men should be subject to a woman, and that those who bore swords and arms should be commanded by a spinster: so coming to his companions, he tells them what he had seen: he protests he could not find in his heart to obey a prince that chose rather to act the part of a woman than of a man. Wherefore a conspiracy was formed, and war is made upon Sardanapalus. Upon this news, not as a man that would defend his kingdom, but as women use to do under the apprehensions of death, at first he looks about for a hiding-place; but at last, he marches with a few undisciplined troops to war. Being worsted, he retires to his palace, and there having raised and set fire to a pile of wood, he throws himself and his riches into the

* 'Tis plain from Justin himself, that Bacchus too has been in India; not to mention what is related by others, of the expedition of Hercules into India.

flames;

flames: the only thing he ever did that was like a man. After him, Arbaſtus, who had been the occaſion of his death, is made king. He tranſlated the empire from the Aſſyrians to the Medes.

CHAP. IV. After ſeveral kings, the crown deſcended to Aſtyages by order of ſucceſſion. He dreamt he ſaw a vine ſpring out of the womb of his only daughter, whoſe branches overſhadowed all Aſia. The ſoothſayers being conſulted upon this viſion, ſaid it portended the greatneſs of a grandſon that he ſhould have by this daughter, and the loſs of his kingdom. Frighted by this answer, he gave his daughter in marriage, neither to a famous man, nor one of that country, leſt father or mother's quality ſhould raiſe the ſpirit of his grandſon to form great projects; but to Cambyſes, a man of mean fortune, and a native of Perſia, which nation then made no figure in the world: and the fear of his dream not being overcome by taking this method, he ſends for his daughter, when ſhe was big with child, that the infant might be put to death even under the eye of his grandfather. The child, when born, was delivered to Harpagus, the king's friend, whom he entrusted with his moſt ſecret affairs, to be ſlain by him. He fearing, if the kingdom ſhould come to the daughter, after the king's deceaſe, Aſtyages leaving no male iſſue, ſhe would take the revenge for her child's murder of the miniſter, which ſhe could not do of her father, gave the infant to the keeper of the king's cattle, to be expoſed. It happened, that the ſhepherd had a ſon born at the ſame time. His wife hearing of the deſign to expoſe the royal infant, begs him, with the utmoſt importunity, to have the child brought and ſhown to her. Her huſband, tired out by her entreaty, returns to the wood, where he found a bitch giving ſuck to the little one, and protecting it from the wild beaſts, and birds of prey. Being moved himſelf to pity, upon ſeeing a brute affected with it, he carries the child to his folds, the ſame bitch following him all the way with anxious concern. The woman had no ſooner taken the child into her hands, than he ſmiled upon her, as one he knew; and there appeared ſo much life and pretty innocence in his ſweet
B 4 smiling,

smiling, that of her own accord she begged her husband to expose her own child in his room, and to give her leave to bring up this infant, that she might try whether his fortune would answer to her hopes. Thus the two little ones changing fates, the one is brought up for the shepherd's son, and the other exposed for the king's grandson. The nurse was afterwards call'd Spacos, for so a bitch is called in the Persian tongue.

CHAP. V. The boy, while he was among the shepherds, had the name of Cyrus given him. By and by, being chosen king among his play-fellows, by lot, and having beaten with scourges the disobedient to his laws, out of wantonness; the parents of the boys complained to the king, being angry that men free born should be lashed with servile stripes by the king's slave. He having sent for, and examined the boy, who not changing his countenance, answered, that he had acted only as became a king; admiring his courage, calls to mind his dream, and the interpretation of it. And the likeness of his features, the time of exposing him, and the shepherd's confession, agreeing together, he owned him for his grandson. And because he seemed to him to have fulfilled his dream, by having had a kingdom among the shepherds, he subdued his animosity, but with regard to him only: for being implacably incensed against his friend Harpagus, in revenge for saving his grandson, he killed his son, and gave him to his father to eat. Harpagus, dissembling his anger for the present, deferred shewing his resentment against the king, 'till a proper opportunity should offer for revenge. Some time being elapsed when Cyrus was grown up, instigated by the cruel remembrance of his loss, he writes to him, how he had been banished among the Persians by his grandfather; how he had ordered him to be murdered, when an infant; how his life had been saved by his kindness; how he had incurred the king's displeasure; and how he had lost his son. He advises him to raise an army, and to march without delay, to claim the kingdom; assuring him that the Medes were ready to come over to him. This letter, because it could not be openly transmitted, all the Roads being blocked

locked up by the king's guards, was enclosed within a hare's paunch, the guts being taken out, and the hare delivered to a trusty servant, to be carried to Cyrus in Persia: nets were also given him, that the plot might be cover'd under a shew of hunting.

CHAP. VI. Cyrus, having read the letter, was admonished in a dream, to attempt the same; but warn'd at the same time to take the first man he should meet next day as his assistant in his enterprizes. Wherefore, setting out upon a journey the next morning before it was light, meeting in the country one Sybaris, a slave from the work-house of a certain Mede, and having enquired of what country he was, when he heard that he was born in Persia, knocking off his fetters, and taking him along with him as his companion, he returns to Persepolis. Having called the people together there, he orders them all to attend with hatchets to cut down a wood on each side the road; which when they had readily done, he invites them all to a feast the next day; and when he saw them merry by the entertainment, he asked them, if an offer should be made them, what sort of life they would choose; whether to drudge as yesterday, or to feast as at present? As they all cried out, Feast as to day, he then told them, you must work all your lives like slaves while you are under the Medes, but if you follow me, you shall feast always as you now do. All of them liking the proposal, he made war upon the Medes. Astyages, forgetting his bad treatment of Harpagus, entrusts him with the chief command in the war; who immediately goes over, with all the forces committed to him, to Cyrus, and revenges the cruelty of the king by a perfidious desertion. Which, when Astyages heard, having brought troops together from all quarters, he marches in person against the Persians; and the fight being vigorously renewed, while his men were engaged, he posted part of his army behind them, and ordered those who turned their backs to be driven back upon the enemy; telling them, that unless they conquered, they would find men in their rear not less stout

than those in their front; and therefore desired them to consider, whether they would rather fight their way through this, or flying, be cut to pieces by that body? Being thus reduced to the necessity of fighting, great courage and vigour was thereby infused into them; and therefore when the Persian army, being repulsed, was gradually giving way, their mothers and wives run to meet them. They beg them to take the field again, and, upon their hesitating, taking up their cloaths, shewed them their nudities, asking them if they would hide themselves in the wombs of their mothers and wives? Stung by so sensible a reproach, they return to battle, and making an attack, they put to flight those from whom they had so lately fled. In this battle Astyages was taken prisoner, from whom Cyrus took nothing but his kingdom; and, treating him rather like a grandson than like a conqueror, he gave him the government of the great nation of the Hyrcanians. For he would not return among the Medes. So ended the empire of the Medes, after they had ruled 350 years.

CHAP. VII. In the beginning of his reign, Cyrus made Sybaris, his associate in all his undertakings, whom, in pursuance of his dream, he had delivered from the work-house, and used as his companion in every affair, governor of Persia, and gave him his sister in marriage. But several cities, which had been tributary to the Medes, thinking that their condition was changed by this alteration in the empire, revolted from Cyrus; which desertion was the occasion and source of many wars to Cyrus. Most of them, however, being at last reduced to their duty, when he was carrying on the war against the Babylonians, Cræsus, king of the Lydians, whose power and riches were famous at that time, came to the assistance of the Babylonians: but, being presently defeated and abandoned, he fled back into his kingdom. Cyrus likewise after this victory, so soon as he had settled all affairs in Babylon, removes the war into Lydia; where he totally routs, without much difficulty, Cræsus's army,
much

much dispirited by their bad fortune in the former engagement. Cræsus himself was taken prisoner ; but in proportion to the cheapness and easiness of this victory was its lenity. Cræsus had his life, part of his patrimony, and the city Barce † granted to him ; where, tho' he did not live as an independent prince, yet his manner of living was near to that of royal majesty. This clemency was of no less advantage to the conqueror than the conquered. For when it was known that war was carried on against Cræsus, great Forces poured in from all Greece, as it were to extinguish a fire that threatened common ruin. So greatly was Cræsus beloved by all the Grecian cities, that Cyrus would have immersed himself in a long and grievous war with Greece, if he had determined any thing very cruel against Cræsus. Some time after, while Cyrus was engaged in other wars, the Lydians rebelled ; from whom, being the second time conquered, their arms and horses were taken away, and they compelled to keep taverns, gaming-houses, and stews. And thus a nation, formerly powerful by its industry, and very brave, being effeminated by sloth and luxury, lost its former virtue ; and those who, till Cyrus's time, had shewn themselves to be invincible in war, were now conquered by their prevailing idleness and dissolution of manners. The Lydians had many kings before Cræsus, who were famous for some surprizing events that befel them ; but none of them to be compared with Candaules for the singularity of his fortune. He used to be ever extolling his wife, whom he doated upon for her beauty : not satisfied with the secret consciousness of his own happiness, unless he published the mysteries of matrimony, as if silence had been an injury to her beauty, at last, to gain credit to what he affirmed, he shewed her naked to his confident Gyges ; by which

† *Barce is a city of Persopolis in Lydia, whither Cyrus's conquests never extended ; and therefore some critics read, instead of Barce, Barene, a city of Media, according to Ctesias and Stephanus de urbibus.*

means, he both made an enemy of his Friend thus tempted to the debauching of his wife, and alienated his wife from him, by delivering up, as it were, her love to another ; for soon after the murder of Candaulus was the price of Marriage, and his wife, whose dowry was her husband's blood, delivered up her husband's kingdom and herself together to her gallant.

C H A P. VIII. Cyrus having thus subdued Asia, and reduced the whole East under his power, makes war upon the Scythians. Tomyris was at that time their queen, who, not being affrighted like a woman at the invasion of an enemy, tho' she was able to hinder them from passing the river Araxes, suffered them to pass it ; imagining that she should engage them with more advantage within her dominions, and render flight more difficult to her enemy, by having the river on their rear ; wherefore Cyrus, having passed with his army, and advanced a little into Scythia, encamped. The day following, abandoning his camp with feigned fear, he left plenty of wine and other provisions for a banquet. When the queen received intelligence of this, she dispatched her son, a very young man, with a third part of her forces to pursue him. When they came to Cyrus's camp, the youth, who was wholly unacquainted with military affairs, as if he was come to a feast, not to a battle, not minding the enemy, let his barbarians, who were not used to wine, take in a vast load of it ; so that the Scythians were overcome by drunkenness before they were attacked by the enemy. For when Cyrus knew this, he marched his army back in the night, falls upon them in this disorder, and puts them all to the sword, with the queen's son. Having lost so great an army, and what more grieved her, her only son, she did not dissolve into tears for the loss of her son, but meditated consolation to herself by revenge ; and soon after, by a like stratagem, she circumvented the enemy, while they were exulting in their late Success. For, counterfeiting diffidence on account of the shock she had received, and flying back, she drew Cyrus into a narrow pass. Having placed an
ambuscade

ambuscade there in the mountains, she slew two hundred thousand Persians, with the king himself; in which action this also was remarkable, that there was not left so much as one man to be the messenger of so great a slaughter. Tomyris, the queen, orders the head of Cyrus to be cut off, and thrown into a vessel filled with human blood, upbraiding his cruelty in these terms; "Glut thyself, saith she, now with blood, which thou always thirsted after, and with which thou couldst never satiate thy appetite." Cyrus reigned thirty years, and was successful to admiration, not only in the beginning of his reign, but during the whole course of his life.

CHAP. IX. His son Cambyfes succeeded to him, who added Egypt to his father's empire; but, offended at the superstition of the Egyptians, he ordered the temples of Apis and the other gods to be pulled down. He sent an army to demolish the celebrated temple of Ammon, which was entirely destroyed by tempests, and buried in heaps of sand. After this, he dreamed that his brother Smerdis was to reign; which vision so alarmed him, that he scrupled not to add parricide to his sacrilege: nor could it be expected that he would spare his own relations, who, in defiance of religion, had braved the gods themselves. To perpetrate this cruel service, he chose a certain confident, by name Cometes, one of the Magi. In the mean time, his own sword, dropping out of the scabbard, happened to wound him grievously in the thigh, of which he died, and thus suffered punishment either for the parricide he had ordered, or the sacrilege he had committed. The magician, upon receiving this news, dispatches his work before the fame of the king's death was spread abroad, and having slain Smerdis, to whom the kingdom fell by right, he set up his own brother Oropastes in his room; for they were very like in features and shape, and none suspecting any imposture in the case, Oropastes was declared king in Smerdis's stead. This fraud was so much the easier to hide, that in Persia the kings seldom appear in public, under

der pretence of keeping up majesty. The magicians, to gain the favour of the people, remitted the taxes for three years, and gave all that while an immunity from military service, that they might, by these popular acts, secure to themselves the domination which they had acquired by fraud. This affair was first suspected by Ostances, a nobleman always happy in his conjectures. For this reason he sent to enquire of his daughter, who was one of the king's concubines, whether this king was the son of Cyrus? She sends him word, that she neither knew herself, nor could learn from any other, because they were shut up in different apartments. Upon this he orders her to feel his head when he was asleep, for Cambyfes had cut off both the Magus's ears. Being certainly informed by his daughter that the king had no ears, he discovers the matter to some of the Persian nobility, and having induced them to murder the impostor, he bound them to secrecy by a solemn oath. Seven only were privy to this conspiracy, who immediately, lest time should produce repentance, and the design be discovered by any one, go to the palace, with cymitars hid under their cloaths. There, having slain all they met, they came up to the Magi, who did not want courage to defend themselves; for they killed two of the conspirators with their swords. However, being overpowered in number, they were apprehended; and Gobrias, having one of them fast by the middle, while his companions were afraid to give the thrust, lest they should stab him instead of the Magus, because the scuffle was in a dark place, bids them dispatch the Magus, tho' it were through his own body; but fortune so directed the weapon, that he was unhurt, and the Magus slain.

CHAP. X. The magicians being slain, great indeed was the glory of the princes for the recovery of the kingdom, but greater still for the readiness with which they united in one resolution, when they came to debate about the disposal of it: for they were so equal in birth and valour, that this equality would have

have made an election out of them very difficult to the people. They therefore found out a way to refer the judgment of their fate to religion and fortune. It was agreed among them, that on a day appointed for the purpose, they should bring their horses early in the morning before the palace, and that he should be king whose horse first neighed at the very breaking of day ; for the Persians believe the sun to be the one god, and they look upon horses as sacred to that god. There was among the conspirators, Darius, the son of Hytaspes, who, being in great solicitude about his chance for the kingdom, was told by his groom, that if that was all, there was no difficulty in the matter. So he leads his horse the night before the day appointed to the place, and there lets him cover a mare, thinking the pleasure of the leap would occasion what happened. Wherefore the next day, when they were all met at the assigned hour, Darius's horse, knowing the place immediately, set up a neigh for want of his mare, and, while the rest stood spiritless, gave the happy augury to his master. So great was the moderation of the rest upon hearing the omen, that they alighted immediately from their horses, and saluted Darius as their king. The whole nation, following the judgment of the princes, acknowledged him as such. Thus the kingdom of the Persians, rescued by the bravery of some of the noblest men in it, was, by so trivial a decision, conferred upon one of them. It was indeed altogether incredible that they should resign, with so much patience, their pretensions to a kingdom, for which they were not afraid to expose their lives, in order to recover it from the magicians ; altho', besides gracefulness of person, and virtue worthy of this kingdom, Darius was related to the former kings. In the beginning therefore of his reign he married the daughter of Cyrus, to secure the kingdom by this royal match, that it might not seem so much to be transferred upon a stranger, as to be returned into the family of Cyrus. Some time after, when the Assyrians had revolted, and possessed themselves of Babylon ; because the taking of
the

the town was difficult, the king being fretted at it, Zopyrus, one of the killers of the magicians, orders himself to be cruelly lashed at home, till his body was all over wounds, and his nose, ears and lips, to be cut off, and in this miserable plight presents himself unexpectedly to the king. He privately informs Darius, who was astonished, and enquired after the author of so cruel a mangling, with what intent he had done it; and having laid the sequel of his plot, he went to Babylon in the feigned character of a deserter. There he shews the people his mangled body, and complains of the king's barbarity, who had got the better of him in the competition for the kingdom, not by merit, but by a lucky chance, not by the judgment of men, but by the neighing of a horse. He bids them take example from his friends what his enemies had to fear. He advises them not to trust to their walls more than to their arms, and to permit him to carry on the war in common with them, who had received so recent an injury. His nobility and bravery were known to them all; nor did they doubt of his fidelity, since his wounds were so many pledges of his cruel treatment and just provocation. Wherefore he is made general by common consent, and, having received a small body of troops, the Persians designedly giving way, he made some successful battles. At last he betrayed the whole army entrusted to him, to Darius, and reduces the city under his power. After this Darius made war with the Scythians, as shall be related in the following book.

B O O K II.

A SUMMARY of the CHAPTERS.

- I. *The original and antiquity of the Scythians, and their disputes with the Egyptians about it.*
- II. *A description of Scythia. The manners and customs of this people.*

III. *The*

- II. The warlike exploits of the Scythians. They defeat the Egyptians, and make Asia tributary to them.
- V. The origin of the Amazons from the Scythians; their queens and actions.
- VI. The war of the Scythians with their slaves. Darius makes war upon them, and afterwards upon the Ionians and Athenians.
- VI. The original of the Athenians. Their inventions and arts. A series of their kings.
- VII. Solon's laws, and his political stratagems to enforce them.
- VIII. Pisistratus usurps the government for thirty years.
- X. His son Hippias, banished from his country, brought the Persian army into Greece. Hence the celebrated battle of Marathon, in which the Persians were worsted, and the Athenians were conquerors, under the command of Miltiades.
- I. The disputes between Darius's sons about their title to the kingdom. The mighty preparations of Xerxes against Greece.
- II. The bravery of the Spartans, under the conduct of Leonidas, in opposing the Persians at Thermopylæ, and the huge slaughter the latter suffered there.
- III. The Persian Fleet defeated at Salamis, and put to flight, after a bloody sea-fight, by the management of Themistocles.
- III. A land army is committed to Mardonius. Xerxes, with great difficulty, escapes in a fisher-boat. His foot perish by famine.
- IV. The battle of Platæa, where the Persians were overcome. At the same time there was a victory gained over the Persians in Asia.
- V. The Athenians deceive the Spartans, and rebuild their city. The Spartans waste Persia. Pausanias is convicted of treachery. Aristides defeats the counsels of the traitor. Xerxes again wages war unsuccessfully. He is defeated at sea by Cimon.

C H A P. I.

IN relating the actions of the Scythians, which were very great and noble, we must go back to their original; for their rise was no less illustrious than their empire; neither were they more famous for the government of their men, than the brave actions of their women. As the former raised the Parthian and Bactrian kingdoms, so the latter erected that of the Amazons: so that one, who considers the exploits of their men and women, will be difficulted to decide which sex was most illustrious. The nation of the Scythians was always reckoned most ancient, altho' there was a long debate between the Scythians and the Egyptians about the antiquity of their original; the Egyptians alledging, that in the infancy of the world, when other lands were either parched by the excessive heat of the sun, or frozen by extreme cold, so as not only to be incapable of producing men, but even of receiving and supporting strangers, before garments were invented to defend against heat and cold, or the inconveniencies of climates, were corrected by artificial remedies, Egypt was always so temperate, that neither the winter cold, nor the summer heat, incommoded the inhabitants; and of so fruitful a soil, that no country is more fertile in food for the use of man; and therefore it is reasonable to think that men ought first to have been produced where they might most easily be brought up. On the other hand, the Scythians maintained that the temperature of the air was no argument of antiquity because nature, when she first distributed to the several countries of the world the degrees of heat and cold not only furnished them with animals fitted to endure those different climates, but likewise wisely suited the several sorts of trees and grains according to the circumstances of places: And as the Scythians have sharper air than the Egyptians, so, in proportion, are their bodies and tempers more hardy. But if there was once an uniformity of things, whether the earth was buried under a deluge of waters in the beginning

of the world, or fire, which also produced the world, had the possession of all, the Scythians had, in both these respects, the advantage as to their origin. For if fire was at first the predominant element, which, being gradually extinguished, afforded room to the earth, no part of it would be separated sooner from the fire by the severity of the winter cold than the northern countries; since even now no part is more frozen up with cold. But Egypt, and all the East, cooled the latest, as appears from their being burnt up at present with the scorching heat of the sun. But if formerly all countries were drowned under water, certainly the highest parts would have been first uncovered by the waters running off, and the same water must have remained longest in the lowest grounds; but the sooner any place was dry, the sooner it began to produce animals. Now, Scythia is so much higher than all other countries, that all the rivers which rise there run down into the Mæotis, and thence into the Pontic and Egyptian sea. But that Egypt (which had been guarded by the care and expence of so many ages and kings, and defended by such strong banks against the impetuosity of the waters, and cut into so many canals, that whilst the waters are kept out by the one, they are received by the other, yet nevertheless could not be inhabited without excluding the Nile) could not be thought to have been the most anciently peopled, since, whether by the accessions it received from the banks made by its princes, or by the mud which the Nile continually brings along with it, it plainly appears to have been the latest of all those countries that was inhabited. The Egyptians being baffled by these arguments, the Scythians were always reckoned the more ancient.

CHAP. II. Scythia, which extends far and wide towards the East, is bounded on one side by the Pontus Euxinus, and on the other by the Riphæan Mountains, behind, by Asia, and the river Phasis. It extends a great way in length and breadth. They have no boundaries to their possessions; for they do not plow their land, nor have they any houses or certain places of abode, their herds and flocks being accustomed to wander

wander through uncultivated desarts ; they travel about, carrying their wives and children with them in carts covered with hides to defend them from the rain and cold, and these serve them for houses. Justice is practised among them more from the temper of the nation than from laws. No crime is more heinous among them than theft ; for as their flocks have no housing or fence to secure them, what would be safe in such a vast tract of woods, if stealing were permitted ? They despise gold and silver as much as the rest of mankind covet them. They live upon milk and honey. The use of wool and cloaths is unknown to them ; and tho' they are pinched by continual cold, they only use the skins of greater and lesser animals. This abstemiousness made and kept them just, by excluding all desire of others possessions ; for the desire of riches prevails where they are in use. And I wish the rest of mankind had the like moderation and abstinence from the goods of others : certainly war would not have raged as it hath done thro' all ages and countries of the world ; nor would the sword destroy more men than the natural condition of mortality. So that it is really wonderful that nature should give that to them which the Greeks cannot obtain by all the long instructions of their wise men, and the precepts of their philosophers ; and that the morals of the latter should be outdone, in comparison, by a barbarous and unpolished people : So much better an effect has the ignorance of vice in them, than the knowledge of virtue in the other.

C H A P. III. They thrice attempted the empire of Asia, but they themselves remained always untouched by a foreign power, or at least unconquered. They forced Darius to make a shameful flight from their country. They slew Cyrus, with his whole army. They cut off, in like manner, Zopyrion, a general of Alexander the Great, with all his forces. They had only heard of, not felt, the arms of the Romans. They founded the Bactrian and Parthian empire. They are a hardy nation in toils and wars, and have naturally very robust bodies. They seek after nothing which they
are

re afraid to lose, and by conquest aim at no more than glory. Vexoris, king of Egypt, first proclaimed war against the Scythians, and sent ambassadors to declare to them the conditions of their subjection. But the Scythians being informed beforehand by their neighbours of the king's approach, returned this answer to the ambassadors; "That the prince of so wealthy a people had foolishly begun a war with them who were more to be feared by him at home; that the hazards of war were great, and the rewards of victory nothing in respect of its evident inconveniences. For which reason, the Scythians would not tarry till the king came up to them, since they had so much desirable booty with them, but would make haste to meet the spoil." Nor was the execution of this answer delayed. When the king heard with what speed they advanced towards him, he betook himself to flight, and retires in great consternation into his kingdom, leaving his army, and all his military provisions, behind him. The morasses hindered the Scythians from making an incursion into Egypt. Returning from hence, they imposed a small tribute upon Asia, which they had conquered, rather as an acknowledgment of their title, than a reward of their victory. Having spent fifteen years in the reduction of Asia, they are re-called home by the importunity of their wives, who had dispatched messengers on purpose to acquaint them, that unless they returned, they would have recourse to their neighbours for issue, and not suffer the Scythian race to be extinguished thro' the fault of the women. Asia therefore became tributary to them for a thousand and five hundred years. Ninus, king of Assyria, put an end to the paying of this tribute*.

CHAP. IV. But, in the mean time, among the Scythians, two youths of the royal family, Hylinos

* This is an error; for Ninus is commonly placed about the year of the world 2044. and therefore this tribute must have been paid eleven hundred years before the flood, which happened in 1656.

and Scolopotos, being driven out of their native country by a faction of the nobility, drew a vast number of young men along with them, and settled upon the borders of Cappadocia, near the river Thermodon, and took possession of the Themiscyrean plains. Here, being accustomed for several years to rob their neighbours, they are at last, by a combination of the nations about them, cut to pieces in an ambuscade. Their wives, when they saw want of husbands added to their banishment, take arms, and defend their country, first by dislodging the enemy, and afterwards by making war upon them in their own country. They laid aside all thoughts of marrying with their neighbours, calling slavery, not matrimony. Daring to give a singular example to all ages, they increased their commonwealth without men, and at last defended their acquisitions with despite to them; and that some might not seem happier than others, they kill the men who have married at home. They revenge the loss of their slain husbands by retaliating upon their neighbours. They having procured a peace by their arms, that the race might not perish, they copulate with the men of the adjoining nations. If any male children were born, they killed them. The girls they exercised in the same manner as themselves; not in idleness, or working of wool, but in arms, horses, hunting; burning their right breasts when infants, lest their shooting of arrows should be hindered thereby; whence they were called Amazons. They had two queens, Marpesia and Lampedo, who, having divided their army into two bodies, being now famous for their power and wealth, carried on their wars by turns, defending singly their borders alternately. And that authority might not be wanting to their success, they gave out that they were the daughters of Mars. Thus, having subdued the greater part of Europe, they possessed themselves also of some cities in Asia. After they had founded Ephesus and several other cities there, they dispatch a great part of their army home with large booty. The rest, who had staid behind to defend the empire of Asia, were slain, with their queen Marpesia, by an insurrection.

tion of the barbarians against them. Her daughter
Orithya succeeds her in the government, who has made
her name famous to all ages, by keeping her virginity
her life, and by her singular skill in military affairs.
Her bravery so much was the glory and fame of the
Amazons increased, that the king who set Hercules up-
on his twelve labours, commanded him, as if it had
been a thing utterly impossible, to bring him the ar-
mour of the queen of the Amazons; wherefore, sail-
ing thither with nine large ships, accompanied with the
principal youths of Greece, he attacked them una-
ware. At that time two sisters, Antiope and Orithya,
ruled the government jointly, but Orithya was engaged
in a foreign war. Therefore, when Hercules landed
on the coast of the Amazons, there was but a small
number of them with their queen Antiope, who had
at the least fears of hostilities. By which means, a
few only, who were alarmed by this sudden tumult,
took arms, and these gave an easy Victory to the ene-
my. Many were slain, and taken prisoners; among
the rest the two sisters of Antiope were taken captives,
Penelope by Hercules, Hyppolite by Theseus: but
Theseus, having obtained his prisoner for his reward,
took her to wife, and of her begot Hippolitus. Her-
cules, after his victory, restored his captive to her fi-
ther, and received the queen's armour as his recom-
pense. And thus having executed what he was com-
manded to do, he returned back to the king. But
Orithya, when she found that war had been made up-
on her sister, and that a prince of the Athenians was
the chief author of this violence, persuades her com-
pansions to revenge the affront, telling them, that they
had in vain conquered Pontus and Asia, if they lay
thus exposed, not so much to the wars, as the rapines
of the Grecians. Then she begs assistance from Sagil-
lus, king of Scythia, representing to him that they were
of Scythian extraction, the destruction of their men,
the necessity of their taking arms, and the causes of
the war; and that they had shewn by their valour that
the Scythian women were no less active than their men.
He, being moved by the glory of his nation, sent his
son

son Panafagoras with a great body of horse to her assistance. But a difference arising between them before the battle, they were deserted by their auxiliaries and soon overcome by the Athenians; however, they had the camp of their allies for a refuge, by the protection of which they returned unhurt by other nations into their kingdom. After Orithya, Penthesilea reigned, who gave shining proofs of her valour amidst the bravest heroes in the Trojan war, when she carried assistance thither against the Greeks. Penthesilea being killed at last, and her army quite destroyed, some few which tarried at home, defending themselves with difficulty against their neighbours, continued till the time of Alexander the Great. Their queen Minithya, Thalestris, having obtained leave to lie with Alexander for thirteen nights, in order to have issue by him, returning into her kingdom, died not long after, and with her perished the whole name of the Amazons.

CHAP. V. But the Scythians, in their expedition into Asia, having been absent eight years from their wives and children, were received at home by a war with their slaves. For their wives, weary expecting their husbands so long, and now imagining that they were not detained by the war, but were destroyed, married their slaves, that were left at home to keep the cattle; who taking arms, drove their masters, returning with victory, from their own country, if they had been strangers. With these slaves the end of war was various, and upon this the Scythians are advised to change their manner of fighting, remembering that they had to do, not with an enemy, but their own slaves, who were not to be overcome by the rigour of arms, but the authority of masters; that whips, and warlike weapons, were to be carried into the field; and that laying aside swords, rods and other instruments of servile fear were to be provided. All approving the advice, and being furnished as was advised, when they came upon the enemy, they threaten them, not aware of any such thing, with whips, and did so terrify them that they conquered those by the fear of lashes, whom they could not conquer by the sword; and they began

fly, not as a vanquished enemy, but as run-away
 ves. As many as could be taken of them, were re-
 rded for their insolence with the gallows. The wo-
 en likewise, being conscious to themselves of their
 ameful behaviour, partly stab'd, and partly hang'd
 emselves. After this, the Scythians lived in peace,
 l the time of Jancyrus their king. Darius king of
 ersia, as was said before, made war upon them, be-
 use he could not compass the marriage of his daugh-
 r; and entring Scythia with seven hundred thousand
 en, the enemy not giving any opportunity of battle,
 nd fearing lest if the bridge over the Ister were broke
 own, his retreat should be cut off, he fled back in a
 ight, having lost fourscore thousand men, which loss,
 owever, was not reckoned very considerable in so great
 number. After that, he subdued Asia and Macedo-
 ia. He likewise defeats the Ionians in a fight at sea.
 Then having understood that the Athenians had car-
 ed assistance to the Ionians against him, he turns all
 he fury of the war upon them.

CHAP. VI. Now seeing we are led to treat of
 he wars of the Athenians, which succeeded not only
 eyond all expectation, but above all belief; and of
 he works of the Athenians, which were greater in ef-
 ect than in wish; the original of this city must be nar-
 ated in a few words, because they did not grow up, as
 ther nations have done, from a mean beginning; for
 hey alone can boast not only of their increase, but of
 heir rise; since 'twas not foreigners, nor a mixed mul-
 titude gathered from here and there, that gave birth
 o their city; but they were born in the same soil they
 nhabit, and the country which is their seat, was their
 riginal. They first taught the use of woollen manu-
 ctures, and of oil and wine. They likewise shewed
 men, who hitherto had fed upon acorns, how to plow
 and sow. Learning and eloquence, 'tis certain, and
 he whole train of civil discipline, had as it were their
 emple at Athens. Before Deucalion's time, they had
 a king named Cecrops, who (as all antiquity is plunged
 n obscure fables) is reported to have been of both
 exes, because he was the first who joined man and wo-

man together in matrimony. Cranaus succeeded him, whose daughter Athis gave name to the country. After him reigned Amphyction, who first consecrated the city to Minerva, and called it * Athens. In his time, a deluge swept away the greater part of the people of Greece. Those only escaped, who were saved by flying to the mountains, or who got away in ships to Deucalion king of Thessaly; by them therefore mankind is said to have been formed. Then, by order of succession, the kingdom descended to Erectheus, whose reign the sowing of corn was found out by Triptolemus at Eleusis; in honour of which, the sacred rites of initiation into the mysteries of Ceres, celebrated at the night, were instituted. Ægeus the father of Theseus likewise reigned in Athens, from whom Meda departing by divorce, because her step-son was grown up to manhood, retired to Colchis with her son Medeus, whom she had by Ægeus. After Ægeus reigned Theseus, and after him his son Demophoon, who carried assistance to the Grecians against the Trojans. There had been animosities of a long standing between the Athenians and the Dorians, which the latter designing to revenge by war, consulted the oracle about the event of the contest. The answer was, that they would have the better, unless they kill'd the king of the Athenians. When they entered upon the war, orders were given, above all things, to take care of the king's person. † Codrus, at that time, was king of the Athenians, who having intelligence both of the answer of

* All ancient writers say, that Athens was so called in the time of Cecrops. And Amphyction was the third after him. Justin here passes by two of their kings, viz. Eriethenius, who expelled Amphyction, and Pandion his son, the father of this Eritheus, or rather Eriethonius. There is another mistake soon after, where he says, Demophoon succeeded Theseus; for after Theseus was turned out of the kingdom, Menestheus seized it, and Demophoon succeeded.

† Three of their kings are here omitted; Oxintus, Aphidas and Melanthus, the father of Codrus.

the god, and of the orders the enemy had given, changing his royal habit, enters into the enemy's camp in rags, and carrying sticks upon his neck; there, in a crowd of people that stood in his way, he was killed by a soldier whom he had designedly wounded with his stinging knife, to provoke him to it. The king's body being known, the Dorians immediately marched off, without offering battle. And thus the Athenians, by the bravery of their prince offering himself to death, for the safety of his country, were freed from a threatening war.

CHAP. VII. After Codrus there was no king at Athens, which is imputed to the singular veneration paid to his memory. The administration of the commonwealth was committed to annual magistrates; but the city had then no laws, for the pleasure of their princes was hitherto held for a law. Therefore Solon, a person eminent for his integrity, is chosen to found the city as it were afresh, by laws; who acted with so much temper between the people and senate, (whereas if he should have favoured one order, it was thought he would certainly have displeased the other) that he got equal thanks from both. Among several other memorable actions of his, this deserves to be commemorated. There had been a dispute carried on by force of arms, betwixt the Megarensians and Athenians, about the property of the island of Salamis, almost to the ruin of both. After many defeats, it was made a capital offence at Athens, so much as to propose the asserting their right to this island. Wherefore, Solon, troubled lest he should hurt his country by his silence, or himself by talking too openly, on a sudden pretends madness; under the favour of which character, he might not only say but do things that were prohibited. He runs out into the streets, dressed like a mad man, and having got a crowd about him, that he might better conceal his design, he began to persuade the people to what was forbidden, in verses not before used by him; and he so moved all that heard him, that they immediately resolved upon a war against the people of Megara; and

the enemy being defeated, the island came immediately under the power of the Athenians.

C H A P. VIII. In the mean time, the Megarensians, mindful of the war made upon them by the Athenians, and that they might not be said to have taken up arms to no purpose, go aboard their ships with a design to seize the Athenian matrons, as they were celebrating the Eleusinian mysteries in the night. But this project being discovered, Pisistratus, the Athenian general, lays some young men in ambush for them, and at the same time ordered the matrons to celebrate the sacred rites, with their usual clamours and cries, on the very approach of the enemy, lest they should perceive themselves to be discovered; and attacking the Megarensians unexpectedly, as they were coming out of the ships, he put them all to the sword. After this, having taken some women along with the men in the fleet he had seized, the better to personate the captive matrons, he goes to Megara. They observing both the build of the ships, and the desired booty, go to the harbour to meet them. These being all cut off, Pisistratus had little to have taken the city too. Thus the Megarensians having their own stratagem turned against them, gave a victory to the enemy. But Pisistratus, as if he had conquered for himself, and not for his country, seized the sovereignty by a trick. For being lashed at home by his own order, he runs out into the streets with his mangled body; and having called an assembly, shews his wounds to the people, and complains of the cruelty of the noblemen, from whom he pretended to have received this barbarous treatment. Tears seconded his complaints, to gain credit to his fiction, and the credulous mob was easily inflamed by his invidious speech. He tells them that he was odious to the senate, for his love of the people: he obtains a guard for the safety of his person, by whom having seized the government, he reigned thirty two years.

C H A P. IX. After his decease, Diocles, one of his sons, having ravished a virgin by force, was killed by her brother. The other, Hippias by name, taking up

on him his father's kingdom, orders the murderer of his brother to be seized, who being forced by tortures to discover those that were privy to the murder, he named all the tyrant's friends. They being put to death, and the tyrant still pressing to know whether any more were guilty, he bravely told him, that there were none left whom he should be glad to see die, but the tyrant himself. By which answer he shewed himself to have got the better of the tyrant, after avenging the pollution of his sister's honour. The city being inspired with a sense of liberty by his bravery, at last, Hippias being driven from his throne, is forced into banishment; so going over to the Persians, offered his service to Darius against his own country, in the war he was then carrying on against the Athenians, of which we have already spoke. The Athenians, upon notice that Darius was marching towards them, desired assistance of the Lacedæmonians, then an ally state; but when they perceived that some superstitious ceremonies made delay for four days, without waiting for their assistance, having mustered up ten thousand of their own citizens, and a thousand auxiliary Plataeans, they advanced into the field of Marathon, against six hundred thousand of the enemy. Miltiades, who was both general in the war, and the person that advised them not to wait for assistance, had so great confidence of success, that he thought there was more to be hoped from their expedition than from the aid of their allies. Great therefore was the alacrity of his army, as they marched to battle; so that when they came within a mile of the enemy, they rushed full speed upon them, before the discharge of their arrows. Neither was the event inferior to their boldness; for they fought with that bravery, that any one who had beheld this bloody scene could have concluded the former to have been men, and the latter a herd of cattle. The Persians being conquered, fled to their ships, of which many were sunk and taken. Each particular behaved himself with that courage in this action, that it seemed difficult to judge who excelled. Among the rest, however, the valour of Themistocles, a young man, was most eminent, in whom,

whom, even then, appeared a genius for the glory was afterwards to acquire as general. The gallantry of Cynegyus, an Athenian foldier, is likewise greatly celebrated by historians, who after innumerable slaughters in the battle, when he had driven the flying enemy from their ships, seized a loaded ship with his right hand and would not let it go 'till he lost his hand; and then too, he took hold of the ship with his left; and when that also was lopped off, at last he seized it with his teeth. So undaunted was his resolution, that not wearied with so many slaughters, nor disheartened by the loss of his hands, maimed and mangled as he was, he continued to fight with his teeth like an enraged wild beast. The Persians lost two hundred thousand men in that battle, or by shipwreck. Hippias likewise, the Athenian tyrant, who had advised and promoted the war, fell in it; the gods of his own country thus avenging his abominable perfidy.

C H A P. X. In the mean time, Darius, who was busy in renewing the war, died in the midst of his preparations for it, leaving several sons behind him, some of whom were born before, and others after his accession to the crown. Artamenes, the eldest of them, claimed the kingdom for himself by the right of primogeniture, which nature itself, and the order of birth, had established among all nations; but Xerxes said, the dispute was not so much about the order, as the good fortune of their birth. For it was true that Artamenes came first to Darius, but it was whilst he was a private man; and he was his first-born after he was king, wherefore his brothers that had been begot before him might claim the private estate which Darius possessed at that time, but not the kingdom. He was the first child his father had after he was king. To this he added, that not only Artamenes's father, but mother likewise, was in a private capacity; and that his grandfather, by the mother's side, was but a private person, but that he was born of a queen, and never knew his father any other than a king. He had likewise for his grandfather, by the mother's side, king Cyrus, not his heir, but the founder of so great a kingdom; and the

their father had left both brothers in equal right, yet the crown belonged to him, both in his mother's and grandfather's right. They consent to refer this dispute to their uncle Artaphernes, as the most proper judge; who, after he had examined the merits of the cause at his own house, gave it in favour of Xerxes; and the contention was managed so like brothers, that neither he who was preferred insulted, nor was he who lost it chagrined; and at the very time of the contest, they sent presents to one another, and had several entertainments at their own houses, that shewed not merely mutual confidence, but love and satisfaction: and judgment was given at last without arbitrators, or the least reviling. With so much more moderation did brothers then divide the greatest kingdom, than now small estates. Wherefore Xerxes goes on, during five years, with his preparations for the war against Greece, begun by his father; which so soon as Demaratus king of the Lacedemonians, who was with Xerxes in a state of exile from his country, heard, being more a friend to his country, notwithstanding his banishment, than to the king for all his favours; that they might not be over-powered by an unexpected attack, he sent a full account of the affair in writing to the magistrates, upon wooden tables, which he daubs over with wax; taking care, on the one hand, that no writing might appear to give an alarm, and on the other, that the freshness of the wax should not suggest any stratagem. Then he gave them to a trusty servant, commanding him to deliver them to the magistrates of Sparta. Upon the arrival of these letters, the Lacedemonians were long in doubt what they meant, because they could see no writing; and yet they could not imagine they were sent to no purpose, but thought the affair must be of moment, in proportion to the mysteriousness with which it was managed. While the men were much embarrassed in their conjectures, the sister of king Leonidas found out the intention of the writer; so the wax being scraped off, the warlike preparations against them are discovered. Xerxes had already armed seven hundred thousand men of his own kingdom, and three hundred thousand auxiliaries; so

that it hath not without ground been affirmed, that rivers were drank up by his army, and that all Greece was scarcely able to contain such numbers. He is also said to have had a fleet of a thousand two hundred ships. But a general was wanting to this vast army. For if you consider the king, you will only find reason to admire his riches, not his capacity for being a general; the wealth of his kingdom being so incredibly great, that when rivers were drained by the numbers of his forces, yet his treasure sufficed. But he was always the first to fly, and the last to fight; a coward in danger, but in safety exceeding arrogant. In fine, before any trial of war, in proud confidence of his strength as if he had been the supreme lord of nature, he levelled mountains, and filled up valleys; he laid bridges over some seas, and others, for the convenience of navigation, he forced into shorter channels.

CHAP. XI. His entrance into Greece was terrible, but his departure was equally shameful and dishonourable. For when Leonidas, king of the Spartans, had made himself master of the straits of Thermopylæ, Xerxes, in contempt of his small numbers, ordered those who had lost any of their relations in the battle of Marathon, to begin the fight; and while they, endeavouring to avenge their friends, begun the slaughter, mighty numbers of raw undisciplined troops coming up the havock was encreased. They fought there three days, to the great grief and indignation of the Persians. On the fourth, Leonidas being informed that twenty thousand of the enemy had possessed themselves of the highest top of the mountain, exhorts his allies to retreat, and save themselves for better times; but tells them that he was resolved to try his fortune with his Spartans; that he owed more to his country than to himself; but as for them, they ought to be saved for the common security of Greece. All the rest departed upon hearing the king's resolution; the Lacedæmonians alone remained with him. In the beginning of the war they had received this response from the oracle of Delphos, upon consulting it; that either the king or city of Sparta must fall. And for this reason, the king Leonidas

midas, when he entred upon this war, had so emboldened his men, that they went with the resolution of those who now they must die on the spot. In this view he seized the narrow pass, that he might either have the greater glory by conquering with so small a number, or fall with less damage to the commonwealth. Therefore, dismissing his allies, he excites the Spartans to remember that however they fought they must expect to die, advising them therefore to take care, lest they should seem to have shewn more courage in continuing with him than in fighting; not to wait till the enemy had surrounded them, but, whilst night gave them an opportunity, to rush upon them secure and joyful; adding, that conquerors never die more honourably than in the enemy's camp. It was no difficult matter to perswade them who had already reckoned upon dying. They immediately take arms, and six hundred men break into a camp of five hundred thousand. They made directly to the king's tent, resolving either to die with him, or, if they should be overpowered, at least in his tent. All the army was in confusion. The Spartans, when they could not find the king, march victorious thro' all the camp, kill and beat down all before them, as knowing that they did not fight with any hope of victory, but to make their own fall as dear to their enemy as they could. The battle lasted from the beginning of the night for the greater part of the next day. At last, not conquered, but tired with conquering, they fell amongst vast heaps of the slaughtered enemy. Xerxes, being twice defeated by land, resolved to try his fortune by sea.

CH A P. XII. But Themistocles, the Athenian general, when he had got intelligence that the Ionians, on whose account they had undertaken this war with the Persians, were come to the king's assistance with a fleet, resolved to tempt them over to his side; and when he could find no opportunity of discoursing with them, he ordered proposals to be placaded on the rocks where they must land, to this effect; "What madness possesses you, O Ionians? Do you intend to make war upon those who formerly founded your state,

“ and lately avenged the injuries of its enemies ? Did
“ we therefore build your walls, that there might be
“ a people to destroy ours ? What else was the reason
“ why formerly Darius, and now Xerxes, made war
“ upon us, but that we did not abandon you when you
“ rebelled ? Why do you not come over from that
“ blockade into our camp ? Or, if that be not so safe,
“ do you retire gradually so soon as the battle begins,
“ pull about, and leave it.” Before this engagement
at sea, Xerxes had sent four thousand men to plunder
the temple of Apollo, as if he had been in war, not
with the Greeks only, but with the immortal gods ;
which detachment was intirely destroyed by rains and
thunder, that he might learn how vain human force
is against the gods. After this he burnt Thespiæ, and
Plateæ, and Athens, whose inhabitants had deserted,
and vents his rage by burning the buildings, since he
could not do it upon the people by the sword. For
the Athenians, after the battle of Marathon, Themis-
tocles forewarning them that that victory over the Per-
sians would not be the end, but the cause of a greater
war, had built two hundred ships ; and upon Xerxes’s
coming, answer was made them when they consulted the
oracle at Delphi, that they should defend themselves
by wooden walls. Themistocles, judging that shipping
was meant by this response, perswades them all that citi-
zens, not walls, made one’s country ; and that a city did
not consist in buildings, but in men. That it was bet-
ter to commit their safety to their ships than to their
walls, and that Apollo was the author of this counsel.
This advice being approved, they left the city, and
entrust their wives, children, and most valuable movea-
bles, to certain private islands as a deposite. They them-
selves repair to the ships in arms. Other cities follow-
ed this example of the Athenians ; but when all the
sea-forces of their allies were joined, and intent upon
an engagement, and had taken possession of the streigh-
t of Salamis, that they might not be surrounded by the
enemy’s fleet, an unseasonable difference arises among
the leading men ; they having formed a design to leave
the battle, and to slip away to defend each his own
countr

country. Themistocles, fearing that their forces would be too much diminished by the desertion of their allies, sends word to Xerxes, by a faithful servant, "That he might now very easily take all Greece, while they were crowded together into one place; but if the cities, which designed to go off, should be dispersed, he must have the greater trouble of pursuing each of them singly." By this artifice he induces the king to give the signal of battle. The Greeks, on the other hand, being surprized by the enemy's coming upon them, engage vigorously with united force. In the mean while the king stood upon the shore, with a part of the ships near him, as a spectator. But Artemisia, the queen of Halicarnassus, who was come in person to assist Xerxes, pushed on the battle with conspicuous bravery amidst the foremost commanders. For as one might have seen a womanish fear in a man, so he might have observed a manly intrepidity in a woman. Whilst the success was doubtful, the Ionians, according to Themistocles's directions, began to retire out of the line of battle by degrees, and their defection broke the courage of the rest; so that the Persians, while they were looking about how they might fly, were put into disorder, and soon after were quite routed, and put to flight. In which consternation several ships were taken, many sunk, but more, fearing the king's cruelty no less than the enemy's, stole away home.

CH A P. XIII. Mardonius accosts Xerxes, confounded by this defeat, and doubtful what measures to take. He advises him to return home to his kingdom, lest fame, which always magnifies things, carrying the news of his bad fortune, should occasion any sedition in his absence; that he should leave him three hundred thousand men, chosen out of all the troops; with which army he would either subdue Greece to his glory, or, if the event proved otherwise, he might submit to the enemy, without bringing reproach upon him. His counsel being approved, an army is delivered to Mardonius, and the king prepares for returning home with the rest. But the Greeks, having got intelligence of the king's flight, take a resolution to destroy

the bridge which he had made at Abydos, as if he had been conqueror of the sea, that, by cutting off his retreat, he might either be destroyed with his army, or forced, by the desperate situation of his affairs, to sue for peace. But Themistocles wisely fearing, lest the enemy, if they could not retreat, by being reduced to despair, should become resolute, and open a way to themselves by their sword, which could not otherwise be gained, represented to them, that there were enemies enough remaining in Greece, and that the number ought not to be augmented by detaining them. When he found that he could not prevail against the rest by this advice, he sends the same servant to Xerxes, informs him of their intention, and bids him secure his passage by a speedy flight. He, being alarmed at the news, leaves his army to be conducted by his captains, and makes the best of his way to Abydos with a few attendants; where, finding the bridge broke down by the winter storms, he passed over in a fisher's boat in the utmost consternation. It was a sight worthy of observation, as affording an example by which we may estimate human affairs; a wonderful instance of the strange mutability of fortune, to see him, whom a little before the whole sea was scarce able to contain, skulking in a little boat! Him, whose armies were burthensome to the earth by their numbers, wanting servants to attend him! Nor had the infantry, which he had committed to his generals, a more successful march; for, besides the daily fatigues (and there is no rest while there is fear) to compleat their distress, they were utterly destitute of all provisions. And this famine had occasioned a pestilential distemper, which killed such numbers, that the high-ways were filled with dead bodies, and beasts and birds of prey, allured by the smell of carrion, followed the army.

CHAP. XIV. In the mean time Mardonius takes Olynthus in Greece. He endeavours to bring over the Athenians to his party, by flattering them with hopes of peace, and the king's friendship, promising to restore their city, which had been burnt, to greater splendour than ever. But, when he saw that

they would not sell their liberty at any rate, setting fire to what they had begun to rebuild, he moves his army into Bœotia. Thither the Grecian army, consisting of a hundred thousand men, followed, and there a battle was fought. But the fortune of the king was not changed with his general; for Mardonius, being totally defeated, escaped, as it were, out of shipwreck, with a few broken troops. His camp, which was filled with royal wealth, was taken; and it was upon shewing the Persian gold among them, that the luxury of riches was first known to the Greeks. By chance, the same day on which the troops of Mardonius were defeated, there was a sea engagement with the Persians under the mountain Mycale in Asia. There, before the fight began, while the fleets stood opposite one to another in line of battle, news came to both that the Greeks had got a compleat victory, and totally routed Mardonius's army. So swift did this report fly, that whereas the battle was fought in the morning in Bœotia, the news of the victory arrived in Asia by noon, through so many seas, and at so vast a distance, in so short a space of time. After the war was over, when they came to treat about the rewards of the respective cities that had been engaged in it, by unanimous consent the bravery of the Athenians was extolled above all the rest. And, among the commanders, Themistocles, being pronounced, by the testimony of the several states, the most distinguished by his prudence and bravery, added greatly to the reputation of his country.

CHAP. XV. The Athenians, being enriched by the rewards of the war, and animated by the glory they had acquired, set about rebuilding their city. Having enlarged the compass of their walls, they began to be suspected by the Lacedemonians, who rightly reflected what increase a city, when fortified, must make, that had made so great a one while it lay in ruins; wherefore, they send ambassadors to advise them not to build strong holds for their enemies, in case of a future war. When Themistocles saw that the rising hopes of his city were envied, not thinking it proper to deal too abruptly with them, answered the ambassadors,

sadors, that some persons should be sent to Lacedemon to confer with them about this affair. Having thus dismissed the Spartans, he advises his citizens to go on with their work with all expedition. Some time after he goes himself upon the embassy ; and one while pretending sickness upon the journey, and another while blaming the tardiness of his colleagues, without whom nothing could be done regularly, by delay after delay, he endeavoured to gain time for finishing the works ; whilst, in the interval, word was brought to the Spartans, that the work was advancing at Athens with great speed ; so that they dispatch ambassadors again to enquire into the truth. Then Themistocles writes to the magistrates of Athens, by a servant, to take the ambassadors into custody, and secure them as pledges, lest any violence should be resolved upon against himself. Then he went to the assembly of the Lacedemonians, and tells them, that Athens was now fortified, and able to resist an enemy, not only by arms, but by walls ; that if they should determine any thing injurious to him or his fellow ambassadors, their own were retained at Athens as a pledge. Then he chid them warmly for seeking to increase their power, not by their own virtue, but by weakening their allies. Being, on this, permitted to depart, he was received by his citizens as if he had triumphed over Sparta. After this the Lacedemonians, lest their forces should be impaired by idleness, and to revenge the two wars the Persians had made against Greece, make an incursion, and lay waste their country, without any new provocation. They chose Pausanias to be general of their own army, and that of their confederates ; who, ambitioning the sovereignty of Greece, instead of the generalship, bargains with Xerxes for his daughter in marriage, restoring him his captives, that the king might lie under some obligation, by such a favour, to fidelity. Besides, he writes to Xerxes to kill whatever messengers he should send to him, lest the negotiation should be blabbed by any of them thro' their itch of talking. But Aristides, the commander in chief of the Athenians, his associate in the war, by traversing all his designs, and by
taking

taking prudent precautions against him, quite baffled his treasonable plots ; and not long after Pausanias, being accused of them, was condemned. Wherefore Xerxes, when he saw this perfidious scheme was discovered, renews the war. The Greeks likewise appoint for their general Cimon, an Athenian, the son of Miltiades, who commanded in chief at the battle of Marathon, a young man, whose future greatness was sufficiently presaged by his early piety to his father ; for his father being cast into prison upon suspicion of robbing the public, and dying there, he took his chains upon himself to redeem his body, that it might have the rites of sepulture bestowed upon it. Nor did he disappoint the expectation of those who chose him, by his management of the war ; for, not degenerating in the least from his father's virtues, he forced Xerxes, after routing him both by land and sea, to fly into his kingdom with the most dispirited precipitation.

B O O K III.

A SUMMARY of the CHAPTERS.

- I. *The fatal end of Xerxes and Artabanus his perfidious favourite.*
- II. *The origine of the wars between the Lacedemonians and Athenians. The republic of Sparta, its laws and legislator.*
- III. *How the laws of Lycurgus came to be received and confirmed.*
- IV. *War declared against the Messenians for ravishing certain virgins.*
- V. *The Messenians punished for their crimes. They begin the war afresh, but are overcome.*
- VI. *The third Messenian war. The Peloponnesian war, in which there are strange vicissitudes.*
- VII. *The peace broke. The Spartans brought down by Pericles, whose great services to the republic are related. Peace made and broke a second time ; whence the Sicilian war.*

C H A P.

C H A P. I.

XErxes, the king of the Persians, heretofore the terror of nations, being unsuccessful in his wars against Greece, at last fell with contempt among his own subjects. For Artabanus, his prime minister, the king's authority declining every day, having flattered himself with hopes of succeeding him in his throne, came one evening into the palace, (always open to him by reason of his friendship with the king) with seven very strong, lusty sons, and having assassinated the king, he attempts to outwit such of his sons as opposed his designs. Reckoning himself more secure of Artaxerxes, who was but a boy, he gives out that the king was killed by Darius, now grown up in years, that he might get the sooner to the kingdom, and instigates him to revenge parricide by parricide. When they came to Darius's house, finding him asleep, they murdered him, as if he had counterfeited sleep on purpose. Next, when he saw that one of the king's sons still remained to be taken out of the way by his wickedness, and apprehended that the grandees would contest the kingdom with him, he takes Barcabasus into his councils, who, being content with his present condition, discovers the whole train of villainy to Artaxerxes; lets him know how his father was killed, and his brother murdered, under a false suspicion of parricide; and finally, what plot was laid against himself. Upon this information Artaxerxes, being afraid of Artabanus's many sons, ordered the army to be ready in arms the day following, under pretext of reviewing the troops, to see if they were compleat in number, and exactly disciplined. Wherefore, as Artabanus was in arms among the rest, the king, pretending that his coat of mail was too short for him, desired Artabanus to change with him; so that while he was stripping himself, and defenceless, he run him through with his sword, and then orders his sons likewise to be apprehended. And thus this excellent youth at once revenged his father's murder,
and

and saved himself from the treacherous machinations of Artabanus.

CHAP. II. During these transactions in Persia, all Greece, under their Lacedemonian and Athenian leaders, being divided into two parties, turned their arms from foreign enemies against their own bowels. Thus one people was separated into two bodies, and they who had so lately served in the same camp, are now become two hostile armies. On one side the Lacedemonians drew over to their faction the forces that had before been common auxiliaries to both. On the other side the Athenians, famous for the antiquity of their nation, and their great exploits, relied on their own strength. And so these two most powerful states in Greece, equal one to another in respect of their policy and laws, the one being founded by Solon, and the other by Lycurgus, rushed into war through mere emulation of one another's power. For when Lycurgus had succeeded Polydectes his brother, king of the Spartans, having strength enough to secure the kingdom to himself, he restored it, with uncommon integrity, to his posthumous son Charilaus, when he was come to the age of man, that all might learn, from this example, how much greater sway and power the laws of piety have with good men than all the charms of riches. But in the mean time, while the infant was growing up under his guardianship, he composed laws for the Spartans, who hitherto had none. He is not more celebrated for the invention of these laws, than for his exemplary conformity to them; since he imposed no law upon others, of obedience to which he did not first give instances in his own conduct. He taught the people to be obedient to rulers, and the latter to exercise their power justly. He excited all to frugality, thinking that the toils of war would fall more light thro' a continued accustomance to parsimony. He ordered all things to be purchased, not with money, but by exchange of commodities. He prohibited the use of gold and silver, as the source and occasion of all wickedness.

CHAP.

C H A P. III. He divided the administration of the commonwealth amongst the several orders. To the kings he granted the power of making war; to the magistrates, who were chosen annually, the distribution of justice; to the senate, the guardianship of the laws; to the people, the power of choosing the senate, or of creating what magistrates they pleased. He divided the lands equally among them, that their estates being equal, none might be more powerful than another. He ordered all to eat in public, that no one might hide his riches and luxury. He would not allow the young people to use more than one garment in a year, nor any one to dress finer than another, or fare more sumptuously, lest imitation should gradually introduce luxury. He ordered young lads to be carried, not into the forum, but the country, that they might employ their first years, not in luxury, but in labour and useful work. He would not permit them to lay any thing under their head to sleep upon, and made them abstain from all delicious meats, nor could they return to the city till they were full grown men. He forbid giving portions to virgins when they were married, that husbands might choose wives, not money, and govern their wives more strictly, as being restrained by no ties of dowry. He ordered that respect should be paid to persons, not according to their merit and power, but the degree of their age; nor was old age indeed any where more honoured than at Sparta. Because he saw these rules would appear austere at first to those whose manners had heretofore been very dissolute, he gives out that Apollo was the author of them, and that he brought them from Delphi by the command of the god, that the authority of religion might overballance the irksomeness of compliance with them. Then, that he might render his laws eternal, he bound the city by an oath not to make any change in them before his return, and pretended that he was going to consult the oracle at Delphos, whether any thing ought to be added or amended in his laws. But in reality he went to Crete, and there lived in voluntary banishment till death, and when he was about to die,

die, he ordered his bones to be cast into the sea, lest, if they were carried back to Lacedemon, the Spartans should imagine themselves loosed from the obligation of their oath with regard to the dissolution of his laws.

CHAP. IV. By these institutions the state acquired, in a short time, such strength, that when they made war upon the Messenians for ravishing their young women at a solemn sacrifice, they obliged themselves, by a heavy execration, not to return before they should take Messene, promising themselves so much either from their strength or their fortune. This affair was the beginning of dissension in Greece, and the cause and original of an intestine war. Wherefore when, contrary to their presumption, the siege of this city detained them ten years, being called to return by their wives with great importunity after so long a widowhood, fearing that by persevering in the war they should be more damaged than the Messenians, since the faithfulness of their women made up for the youth they lost; but for themselves, they suffered continual losses by war, which could not be repaired in that manner whilst they were absent; for these reasons they chose certain young men of that sort of soldiers who came as recruits to the army, after taking the military oath, whom they sent back to lie promiscuously with all the women, thinking the supply of children would come more quickly, if every woman made the experiment with several men. The fruits of this coition were called Parthenians in memory of their mother's shame; and when they were come to thirty years of age, for fear of want (for none of them had a father, to whose estate they could hope to succeed) they chose Phalantus for their chieftain, the son of Aratus, who had advised the Spartans to send home the young fellows to get children, that as they owed their birth to his father, so they might have him for the author of their hope and dignity. Therefore, without taking leave of their mothers, from whose adultery they thought they derived infamy, they set out to seek a settlement, and being tossed about a long time, thro' various

various misfortunes, at last they arrive in Italy, and possessing themselves of the citadel of Tarentum, they drove out the old inhabitants, and settled there. But, several years after, their leader Phalantus, being exiled by a popular sedition, went to Brundisium, where the old Tarentines had fixed after they were driven from their habitation. He, at his death, advises them to bruise his bones and last remainders to dust, and privately scatter them in the market-place of Tarentum: for Apollo had declared, by his oracle, they should recover their country by this means. They, thinking that he had betrayed the destiny of his country to revenge himself, obeyed his orders. But the meaning of the oracle was quite different: for, upon doing of this, it promised them the perpetual possession, not the loss of the city. Thus, by the cunning of their exiled leader, and the officiousness of their enemies, the possession of Tarentum was secured to the Parthenians for ever; in memory of which benefit they decreed divine honours to Phalantus.

C H A P. V. In the mean time they, who could not be conquered by valour, are over-reached by a stratagem. Then, after they had suffered eighty years bonds and stripes, and all the grievances of slavery, after a long endurance of their punishments, they renew the war. The Lacedemonians too run to arms with the more united warmth, because they thought they had to do against their slaves. Therefore, ill usage exasperating on one side, and indignation spurring on the other, the Lacedemonians having consulted the oracle at Delphos concerning the event of the war, are ordered to seek a general from the Athenians to conduct it. But when the Athenians were informed of this answer, they, in contempt of the Spartans, sent them a lame poet, called Tyrtaeus; who, being routed in three battles, reduced the Spartans to such desperate straits, that they made their slaves free to recruit their army, promising them the widows of such as should happen to be slain, that they might not only fill up the number of the lost citizens, but their employments and dignities. But the kings of Lacedemon,

left by contending in vain against fortune, they should bring greater damage upon the city, intended to draw off their army, if Tyrtæus had not interposed, who recited some verses to the army publicly assembled of his own composition, which contained intreaties to courage, consolations for their losses, and advices about the war. Wherefore he inspired the soldiers with so much bravery, that being not concerned about their lives, but their burial, they tied little tickets to their arms, with their own names and those of their fathers engraved upon them, that if an unhappy war should destroy them all, and their forms and features should be confounded through length of time, they might obtain burial by the discovery these titles would make. When the kings saw the army thus animated, they took care to have it told to the enemy; but the matter did not cause a consternation in the Messenians, but a mutual emulation. Wherefore both sides encountered with such courage, that a more bloody battle almost never happened. At last, however, the victory fell to the Lacedemonians.

CHAP. VI. Some time after the Messenians renewed war for the third time, in which they called upon the assistance of the Athenians amongst their other allies; but having afterwards conceived some suspicion of their fidelity, they dismissed them, pretending to have no use for them. The Athenians, taking umbrage at this, remove the money which had been contributed by all Greece to defray the expence of the Persian war from Delos to Athens, lest the Lacedemonians should break their alliance, and make plunder of it for themselves. But neither were the Lacedemonians quiet; for tho' they were busy in the war of the Messenians, yet they sent the Peloponnesians to make war upon the Athenians. The forces of the Athenians were at that time inconsiderable, their fleet being sent to Egypt; wherefore, engaging in a sea battle, they were easily put into disorder. Some time after, upon the return of their fleet, having augmented both their naval and land force, they renewed the war. And now the Lacedemonians, leaving the Messenians at rest,
had

had turned their arms against the Athenians. The victory was long disputed, and at last both parties gave over with equal loss. Upon this the Lacedemonians being recalled to the war of the Messenians, not to leave the Athenians without employment in the meantime, they enter into a league with the Thebans to restore them the government of the Bœotians, which they had lost during the Persian war, on condition that they would wage war against the Athenians. Such was the fury of the Spartans, that tho' they were embroiled in two wars, they did not refuse undertaking a third, that they might bring enemies on the backs of their enemies. Therefore the Athenians chose two generals against this storm of war, Pericles, a man of experienced valour, and Sophocles, a famous writer of tragedies; who, dividing their forces into two bodies, laid waste the country of the Spartans, and subjected to the Athenians many cities of Achaia.

CHAP. VII. The Lacedemonians, being quite shattered by these losses, struck a peace for twenty years. But their implacable hatred did not suffer them to rest so long inquiet; wherefore, breaking the treaty in the fifteenth year, they ravaged Attica in defiance of gods and men. And that they might not appear to have aimed at plunder more than fighting, they challenge the enemy to meet them in the field. But the Athenians, by the advice of Pericles their general, put off revenging themselves for the injuries done them by plundering their country, to a proper time of vengeance, thinking it unadvisable to risk the success of a battle, when they could be revenged of them some other way without such danger. Some days being passed, they go aboard their fleet; and whilst the Lacedemonians thought of no such thing, they lay waste all Sparta, and carry off much more than they had lost; so that upon computing damages, the revenge went much farther than the loss received. This expedition of Pericles was indeed reckoned famous, but his contempt of his private fortune was much more glorious. The enemy, in plundering all the rest of the country, had not touched his lands, hoping either to bring popular

ular envy upon him by this means, or a suspicion of treachery. But Pericles foreseeing this, had not only retold it to the people, but, to escape the malice of envy, he had likewise made a present of these lands to the publick : and thus he improved, to his immortal honour, what was projected to ruin him. Some days after, they engaged in a sea-fight. The Lacedemonians being worsted, fled. But the war did not cease upon this, for they went on butchering one another by sea and land, with various success. At last, quite exhausted and fatigued by so many misfortunes, they made a peace for fifty years, which they kept for six only ; for they broke the truce which they had concluded in their own names, under the pretence of assisting their allies ; as if it had been less perjury to send aid to confederates against a people, than to engage in an open war with them. Upon this, the seat of the war was changed to Sicily : but before I relate this war, 'tis fit to give some account of that island.

BOOK IV.

A SUMMARY of the CHAPTERS.

- I. The situation of Sicily, and the nature of the soil.*
- II. Its names and ancient inhabitants. The tyrants of Sicily. The Carthaginians gape after it.*
- III. The people of Rhegium oppressed by those of Himera. The Athenians design upon Sicily, and are successful at first.*
- IV. The Syracusans send assistance to the Lacedemonians. The war is removed into Sicily.*
- V. The Athenians defeated by sea and land.*

CHAP. I.

TIS said that Sicily, in former times, was joined to Italy by a narrow neck of land, and was torn from it by the impetuosity of the upper sea, which
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is borne down thither with the whole force of its waters. The soil in this island is brittle and light, and the earth is so perforated by caverns and natural canals that it is wholly exposed to the violence of the winds, and the very matter of it is naturally adapted for generating and feeding of fire; for 'tis said to be impregnated within with sulphur and pitchy substances, which is the cause that when the wind struggles with the fire in the subterraneous parts, it frequently belches out vapour or smoak in several places. Hence it is that mount *Ætna* hath continued so many ages to burn; and when the wind breaks in fiercer than ordinary thro' the cavities, vast heaps of sand are thrown up. The promontary of Italy, which lies nearest to it, is called *Rhegium*, from a Greek word that signifies, to break. Nor is it strange if antiquity be full of fables concerning this place, since so many extraordinary things meet here. The first is, that the sea is no where so rapid, its current being not merely fierce, but terrible, so as to fright not those only who feel its effects, but even those who see it at a distance. Such is the collision of the waves clashing against one another, that one would imagine some of them turned their backs, and sunk into the deep; and others rose aloft, as if they were victorious to the skies. Here you may one while hear the noise of the boiling sea; and another time, in another place you may hear as it were its groans when it sinks in a whirl-pool. To all this are added the neighbouring and perpetual fires of mount *Ætna*, and the *Æolian* Islands, which burn as if the flame were nourished by the very water. Nor could so vast a fire have lasted so many ages, within such narrow bounds, unless it was maintained by the watry element. Hence have fables produced *Scylla* and *Charybdis*: hence barkings were thought to have been heard: hence the form of the monster *Scylla* gained credit; whilst the sailors, so frightened at the rage and fury of the whirl-pools, in which the sea subsides, imagined the waves, which the force of the swallowing gulph clashes, to bark. The same cause renders the fire of mount *Ætna* everlasting for that counter-shocking of the waters forces down

he bottom the air it hurries along with it, and there
hoaks it up, 'till being diffused through the caverns of
he earth, it inflames the combustible particles which
re the aliment of the fire. Again, the vicinity of
Italy and Sicily, and the equal height of the promon-
ories, which, in proportion to the admiration they ex-
cite in us now, caused just so much terror to the anci-
ents, who believed that whole ships were snatched and
absorbed by the promontory opening, and closing after-
wards. Nor was this invented by the ancients for the
sake of making an amusing tale, but occasioned by the
fear and consternation of the sailors. For such is the
nature of the place, to those who view it at a distance,
that you would take it for a bay, and not a passage ;
for as one approaches to it, he would think the promon-
tory which before was joined, now separated and dis-
joined.

CH A P. II. The first name of Sicily was Trinac-
ria ; it was afterwards called Sicania. This was, in
the early times, the habitation of the Cyclops, which
race being extinct, Cocalus seized the government of
the island ; after whom, each of the cities fell under
the government of tyrants, in which no country was
more fruitful. Anaxilaus, one of them, strove to be as
just as the rest had been cruel ; from which moderation
he reaped no small advantage : for having left, at his
decease, some very young sons, the guardianship of
whom he had committed to Micythus, a servant of tried
fidelity, the people had universally so high a respect for
his memory, that they chose rather to be under the
command of a slave, than to abandon the king's sons ;
and even the grandees of the state, forgetting their
dignity, suffered the royalty to be exercised by a slave.
The Carthaginians likewise attempted the conquest of
Sicily, and had a long and doubtful war with the ty-
rants. At last, having lost their general Hamilcar,
with his whole army, they laid aside their pretension
for some time, and were at quiet.

CH A P. III. In the mean time, the people of
Rhegium falling into dissention among themselves,
the city was thus divided into two factions, one of
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which called some veteran troops to their assistance, who having driven out those against whom their help had been implored, and soon after killing those who sent for them, seized the town, and the wives and children of their allies; venturing upon a villany, to which no tyrant ever approached; so that it had been better for the Rhegians to have been overcome, than to conquer. For whether they had served the conquerors by the laws of captivity; or losing their country, they had been forced to live in banishment, yet they would not have been slain amidst their altars and household gods, and have left their children and wives, with their country, to be a prey to these most cruel tyrants. The Catanians also, finding the Syracusans very heavy oppressors, and not daring to rely upon their own strength, sent to the Athenians for assistance; who either out of a desire of enlarging their dominions, and making themselves masters of all Greece and Asia; or out of fear, lest the fleet lately built by the Syracusans should join with the Lacedemonians, sent Lamponius, as admiral, with a navy into Sicily; that under pretence of aiding the Catanians, they might attempt to take possession of the whole island. And because at first they had success, having frequently made great havock among the enemy, they went to Sicily again, with a greater fleet, and a more powerful army, under the command of Laches and Catriades; but the Catanians, either through fear of the Athenians, or weariness of the war, made peace with the Syracusans, and sent back the auxiliary forces of the Athenians.

C H A P. IV. Some time after, the articles of peace being broke by the Syracusans, the people of Catania sent ambassadors once more to Athens, who went to the solemn assembly in a vile and despicable plight, with the hair of their heads and beards exceeding long, and carrying all the badges of misery with them, on purpose to move the people's compassion. They seconded their prayers with tears, and, by their supplications, so touched the bowels of the people, that the commanders who had withdrawn their assistance from them were condemned: wherefore a great fleet is ordered to be
fitted

ted out. Nicias, Alcibiades, and Lamachus were appointed to command it; and such a body of men was sent again to Sicily, as was a terror even to those whom they came to aid. Alcibiades being, a short time after, recalled, to answer certain crimes charged against him, Nicias and Lamachus had two successful land battles; after which, they cut off all supplies to the enemy by sea, drawing lines about their city, and blocking it up on all sides. By these measures, the Syracusans being greatly reduced, they desired assistance from the Lacedemonians, who only send Gylippus to them, but one indeed who was equal to all the other auxiliaries they could have sent. He having heard in his journey how the scales of the war began to incline, having got together some men, partly in Greece, partly in Sicily, seizes some places which were advantageous for carrying on the war. After this, being defeated in two battles, and engaging in a third, by slaying Lamachus, he put the enemy to flight, and rescued his allies from a siege. But the Athenians changing the seat of the war from land to sea, Gylippus sent to Lacedemon for a squadron of ships with troops; upon intelligence of which, the Athenians, in the room of their late general, send Demosthenes and Eurymedon with a supply of all necessaries. The Peloponnesians sent from their cities, unanimously, great assistance to the Syracusans; and, as if the war of Greece had been translated to Sicily, both sides fought with the greatest vigour.

CH A P. V. Wherefore in the first engagement, which happened at sea, the Athenians were conquered. They lose their camp too, with all their money, both publick and private. And besides these misfortunes, being likewise worsted in a land battle, Demosthenes began then to advise them to quit Sicily; whilst their affairs, though bad, were not yet quite irrecoverable, and not persist in so unlucky a war: that there were more considerable, and perhaps more unhappy wars to be feared at home; for which it was expedient to reverse those preparations of the city. Nicias, either through shame for his ill success, or fear of the resentment of his citizens for their disappointed hopes, or infatuation,

fatuation, contended for staying. Wherefore the war at sea was renewed, and their minds were turned from the gloomy reflections on their former bad fortune, to flattering hopes of better success in another battle; but they lost it through the unskilfulness of their leaders, who attacked the Syracusans in a narrow arm of the sea, where they had advantageously posted themselves. Their general Eurymedon was slain fighting valiantly in the front of the battle, and thirty ships which he commanded, were burnt. Demosthenes and Nicias being themselves also conquered, set their forces on shore, thinking they could better get off by land. Gylippus seized upon an hundred and thirty ships which they left; and then pursuing the flying enemy, put some to the sword, and took others prisoners. Demosthenes, after the entire defeat of the army, prevented his captivity by a voluntary death. Nicias, whom even so recent and so near an example could not induce to put himself out of the power of fortune, added the disgrace of his captivity to the fatal overthrow of his army.

B O O K V.

A SUMMARY of the CHAPTERS.

- I. *Alcibiades, the prompter of the Sicilian war, banished. Flies to the Lacedemonians, and excites them to wage war against the Athenians. In this war Darius assists the Lacedemonians as an ally.*
- II. *His actions against his country. He is suspected by the Lacedemonians, and creates them trouble by the assistance of Tissafernes.*
- III. *He changes the government at home, and then arming a fleet, he goes against the Lacedemonians.*
- IV. *A sea fight, and a famous victory obtained by him over the Lacedemonians. At the desire of his fellow citizens, he returns to Athens, and is received with universal joy.*

- I. The Lacedemonians, supported by the Persians, defeat the Athenians in Asia. Alcibiades fearing to go home, goes voluntarily into banishment.
- II. Conon, his successor, having a raw and unexperienced army, has bad success; and being defeated in a sea engagement, flies to Evagoras.
- III. The pusillanimity of the Athenians, after so many disasters.
- IV. Athens is surrendered to the Lacedemonians. Lysander alters the state of the republick: hence the thirty tyrants, and the death of Alcibiades.
- V. Theramenes, one of the tyrants, a man of more moderation than the others, is killed by his colleagues. Thrasybulus restores the sinking commonwealth, and kills Critias and Hippolochus, two of the most cruel among the tyrants.
- VI. Thrasybulus mildly recalls the flying inhabitants, and drives the rest of the tyrants out of the city. He publishes an act of oblivion.
- VII. The death of Darius. His two sons Artaxerxes and Cyrus contend for the succession; first more privately, then by open war. Artaxerxes, in the mean time, having killed his brother, gets possession of the empire.

CHAP. I.

WHILST the Athenians carry on the war in Sicily, with more eagerness than success, Alcibiades one of the generals, and the great promoter of the war, is accused in his absence at Athens, of having revealed the mysteries of Ceres, which were revered for their secrecy. But being recalled from the war to his trial, and not able to bear either the conscience of his guilt, or the indignity of such an affront, he retired in private banishment to Elis. When he heard that he was not only condemned, but devoted to destruction by all the fraternities of the priests, he withdrew to Lacedemon, and there instigates the king of the Lacedemonians to make war upon the Athenians, now distressed by their bad fortune in Sicily; which being done, all the states of Greece run as it were to extinguish

guish a common fire ; so general a hatred had the Athenians drawn upon themselves by the cruelty of a tyrannical government. Darius also, king of Persia, mindful of his father's and grandfather's enmity to this city, having made an alliance with the Lacedemonians, by the means of Tissafernes governor of Lydia, promises to bear all the expences of the war. And this was indeed his pretence for joining with the Greeks ; but, in truth, he was afraid, lest the Lacedemonians, when they had conquered the Athenians, should turn their arms against him. Who therefore need wonder that the flourishing state of the Athenians went to ruin, when all the forces of the east concurred to destroy one city ? yet they did not fall without a great struggle, or without bloodshed, but fighting to the last, and sometimes victorious, they were rather worn out by a variety of fortune, than overcome by force. In the beginning of the war, all their allies too deserted them, as usually happens ; for to what side fortune leans, thither does the favour of men incline.

C H A P. II. Alcibiades likewise helps forward the war carried on against his own country, not with the services of a private soldier, but the abilities of an experienced general. For having received a squadron of five ships, he sailed directly to Asia, and by the authority of his name, engages the tributary cities to revolt from the Athenians. They knew his fame at home ; nor did they think him diminished by his banishment ; but weighing his losses with the command he had got, thought that command was not taken from him by the Athenians, but rather delivered to him by the Lacedemonians. But among the Lacedemonians the great qualities of Alcibiades rather procured him envy than love. Therefore when the grandees had laid a plot to take him off privately, as their chief rival, so soon as Alcibiades found out this design by the wife of king Agis, with whom he had a criminal intrigue, he fled to Tissafernes, a viceroy of Darius, with whom he quickly ingratiated himself, by his complaisance and obliging behaviour ; for he was then in the flower of his youth, and was in great reputation even at Athens ; no less on
account

account of his eloquence, than the handsomeness of his person. But he was better at making than keeping friends; for his many vices lay hid under the charms of his eloquent tongue. So he soon persuades Tiffaernes not to furnish the Lacedemonian fleet with the usual supply of money; and to call upon the Ionians to pay their share; for whose liberty, because they paid tribute to the Athenians, the war was undertaken; and that the Lacedemonians were not to be too largely assisted; but that he ought to remember that he was making preparations to gain a victory, the profits of which would go to others, and not to himself; and therefore the war was so far only to be supported, as that it might not be given up for want of necessaries: for while divisions continued in Greece, the king of Persia would be sole umpire of peace and war, and conquer them by their own arms, whom his forces could not overcome: and when the war was ended, he must fight with the conquerors. For these reasons, Greece ought to be exhausted by intestine wars, that they might not have leisure to annoy their neighbours; and the strength of the parties ought to be kept in a balance, and the weaker supported by assistance: for the Spartans would not rest quiet after this victory, since they pretended to be the supporters and vindicators of the liberty of Greece. This speech pleased Tiffaernes; wherefore he began to furnish them with provisions very scantily, and did not send all the royal navy, lest he should give them an entire victory, or put them under a necessity of dropping the war.

CH A P. III. In the mean time, Alcibiades boasted of this service to his countrymen. So when the deputies of the Athenians came to him, he promised them the king's friendship, if the government was transferred from the people to the senate; in hopes either, that if the city could agree, they would unanimously chuse him their generalissimo; or if a dissention arose between the two bodies, he should be invited by one side to their assistance. But the Athenians, while a dangerous war hung over their heads, were more solicitous about their safety than their honour; wherefore, with the consent

of the people, the government is transferred to the senate; who treating the people with the cruelty and haughtiness so incident to that rank, whilst each of them contended to get all the power of tyranny into his own hands, the banished Alcibiades is recalled by the army, and made admiral of the fleet. Upon this, he immediately sends word to the senate, that he was forthwith to march his army to Athens, and would oblige them by force to restore to the people their ancient rights, if they would not do it of themselves. The nobility, affrighted at this declaration, at first attempted to betray the city to the Lacedemonians; and when they found that impracticable, they went into voluntary banishment: wherefore Alcibiades having rescued his country from this intestine evil, fits out his fleet with the utmost care, and proceeds to the war with the Lacedemonians.

CHAP. IV. Mindarus and Pharnabazus, the two Lacedemonian generals, were waiting his coming with their fleet drawn up. A battle being fought, the victory fell to the Athenians. In this engagement, the greater part of the army, and almost all the enemy's principal officers were killed, and eighty ships were taken. A few days after, when the Lacedemonians had removed the war from sea to land, they are again worsted. These disasters so weakened them, that they sued for peace; which motion proved ineffectual, thro' the measures of those who found their private advantage in the war. In the mean time likewise, a war broke out between the Carthaginians and Sicily, which obliged the Syracusans to recall home the auxiliaries they had sent to the Lacedemonians; by which means the Lacedemonians being left quite destitute, Alcibiades ravages all Asia with his victorious fleet; gains several battles: and whenever he gained a victory, he reduces the cities which had revolted, and adds some of them to the Athenian government. And having thus recovered their ancient naval glory, and added to this the glory of a victory by land, he returns to Athens, much longed for by his countrymen. In all these battles, two hundred ships of the enemy, and abundance of plunder was taken. Upon this triumphant return of the army,
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all conditions of people run out to meet them, and admired indeed all the soldiers, but more especially the bravery of Alcibiades: all the city turn their eyes upon him; they stare at him, and consider him as sent from heaven to their relief, and as victory in person. They commend what he had done for his country; nor do they less admire what he had done against it in his banishment, excusing those actions, as done through resentment and provocation: for he was, indeed, of himself, a person of so great weight, that he subverted a most flourishing government, and again recovered it; and victory went with him to whatever side he joined himself; so that fortune seemed to follow, in a truly wonderful manner, his inclinations. They therefore heap upon him not only all human, but all divine honours; and strove to surpass by the honour with which they received him, the contumely with which they had expelled him. They carried the gods, by whose execrations he had been accursed, to meet and congratulate him; and him to whom they had lately denied all human help, they now desire to raise among the gods, if they could: they compensate former indignities by the honours they now pay him; former damages by presents; former curses by benedictions. They no more speak of the unfortunate battle in Sicily, but of the conquest of Greece; not of the fleets he had lost, but of his victories; nor did they make any mention of Syracuse, but of Ionia and the Hellespont. Thus was Alcibiades received; with respect to whom, his countrymen never kept within bounds, neither in their anger nor their favour.

CHAP. V. Whilst these things happened at Athens, the Lacedemonians gave the command of their fleet and army to Lyfander; and Darius, king of the Persians, made his son Cyrus governor of Ionia and Lydia, in the room of Tiffaernes, who raised the Lacedemonians, by his aids, to the hopes of retrieving their affairs: wherefore being encreased in strength by their sudden arrival, they surprized Alcibiades, who was gone to Asia with a hundred ships, whilst he was securely ravaging the country, which was exceedingly enriched by

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a long

a long peace, and his army was dispersed in plundering, without any apprehension of a design upon them; and such was the slaughter of the scattered soldiers, that the Athenians received a greater blow by this single defeat, than they had given the enemy in all the former engagements. And so great was the despair among the Athenians, that they immediately changed their general Alcibiades, and put Conon in his room; imagining themselves defeated, not so much by the fortune of the war, as by the perfidy of their commander, whom they thought to be more influenced by their former affronts, than by their late honours; and to have only conquered in the former war, that he might let the enemy see what a general they had contemned; and that they might buy the victory dearer. And in truth, his vigour, and the dissoluteness of his manners, rendered every thing that was said of Alcibiades credible; wherefore fearing the insults of the people, he went a second time voluntarily into banishment.

C H A P. VI. Conon being now put in the room of Alcibiades, having before his eyes the extraordinary person to whom he succeeded, fits out a fleet with the greatest diligence; but marines were wanting, the stoutest men being all slain in ravaging Asia. Old men, however, are put into arms, or young boys, and the number of an army is made up, without its strength. Such a feeble adversary made the war very short; they were slaughtered every where, or taken flying; and so many were slain or taken prisoners, that not merely the power, but the very name of the Athenians seemed to be extinct. By this battle their affairs being ruined and rendered desperate, they were reduced to such want of men, that all who were of a proper age for service being destroyed, they gave the freedom of their city to foreigners, liberty to slaves, and indemnity to the condemned. Out of these dregs of men having levied an army, they who had lately been lords of Greece, scarcely maintained their liberty. However, they resolve to try their fortune at sea again; and so great were their spirits, that though a little while ago they had despaired of safety, yet now they dare to hope for victory. But
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It was not such a soldiery that could support the Athenian name ; it was not with such an army they had been used to conquer ; the military skill and discipline necessary for this could not be expected from those who had been kept in order, not in camps, but in jails ; they were therefore all either taken or slain. As the general Conon alone survived that battle, fearing a cruel treatment from his countrymen, he goes with eight ships to Evagoras, king of Cyprus.

CHAP. VII. But the Lacedemonian general having so successfully managed the war, insults over his enemies ; sends the ships he had taken loaded with the booty to Lacedemon in a triumphant manner ; and the tributary cities, which had all this while been kept to their duty by fear of the uncertainty of war, gave themselves up to him freely ; nor did he leave any thing in subjection to the Athenians besides the city itself. When all this was known at Athens, they all of them leaving their houses, run up and down the streets in a frantick manner, asking one another news, and who had brought these sad tidings. Neither did want of experience retain their boys at home, nor the weakness of their sex their women, nor the infirmities of age their old men, so penetrating a sense of their misfortunes had filled persons of all ages and conditions. Then they assemble in the forum, where all night long they reiterate their mournful complaints of the public distress and misery. Some lament their brothers, sons, or parents ; others their relations, others their friends, dearer to them than their kinsmen, and mingle their private losses with their groanings for the public misfortunes ; now looking upon themselves as undone, and now upon their country as upon the brink of perdition, and judging those who did survive more unhappy than those that had been slain. Every one represented to himself a siege, famine, and an enemy flushed with victory. Sometimes they saw in their imaginations their city all in flame and ruins ; sometimes they set before them a miserable captivity and servitude ; and they judged the former destruction of their city, when their parents and sons were safe, and their houses only were ruined,

as much more happy than what was now to befall them. For now there was no fleet to fly to as formerly, no army to defend them, that they might live to build a finer city.

CHAP. VIII. The enemy came upon the city in this deplorable plight, and blocking them by a close siege, sadly distressed them. For they knew that there was not much left of the stores they had laid in, and that care was taken to prevent their bringing in new ones. The Athenians, quite broken with these calamities, after a long famine, and daily losses of their men, capitulated for peace; which, whether it should be granted or not, was long deliberated between the Spartans and their allies. Many of them were for rooting out the very name of the Athenians, and for burning the city to the ground. But the Spartans insisted that they would by no means pluck out one of the eyes of Greece, and promised them peace, if they would level the wall that joined the Piræus to the city, and deliver up the ships that were left, and if the republic would receive thirty governors from them of their citizens. The Lacedemonians delivered up the city surrendered to them on these conditions, to be modelled by Lyfander. This year was remarkable both for the taking of Athens, and the death of Darius, king of Persia, and the banishment of Dionysius, tyrant * of Sicily. The government of Athens being changed, the condition of the citizens was likewise considerably altered. Thirty governors of the commonwealth were appointed, who became tyrants; for, from their admission, they set up a guard for their persons of three thousand men, almost all the citizens that were left after so many slaughters; and, as if this army was too small to keep the city in awe, they received seven hundred soldiers more from the conquerors. They began the murder of the citizens with

* *Dionysius, the elder, was so far from being banished this year, that he invaded the government of Sicily; neither did this misfortune befall him, but his son Dionysius the younger, about forty eight years after this.*

that

that of Alcibiades, lest he should seize the government again, under pretence of restoring liberty to the Athenians. Having received intelligence that he was going over to Artaxerxes, king of the Persians, they sent some in all haste to intercept him ; who, when they apprehended him, because they could not slay him publicly, burnt him alive in the chamber where he lay asleep.

CHAP. IX. The tyrants, being delivered from the fear of an avenger, destroy the miserable remains of the city with sword and rapine ; and finding this displeasing to one of their own number, Theramenes, they kill him, to strike terror into the rest. Upon which, the people fly in crowds from the city, and Greece is filled with Athenian exiles. But even this relief was at last taken from them ; for the Lacedemonians published an edict, forbidding any of their cities to receive them ; so they were forced all of them to betake themselves to Argos and Thebes. There they not only had secure banishment, but likewise entertained some hopes of freeing their country. There was, among the exiles, one Thraſybulus, a gallant man, and of noble birth ; who, thinking that something was to be adventured upon for his country and the common safety even with danger, having gathered the exiles into a body, seized upon Phyle, a castle on the frontiers of Attica. Nor was the favour of some cities wanting to them, thro' commiseration of their misfortunes ; wherefore Ismenias, a leading man among the Thebans, tho' he could not assist them with the public force, yet he did with his private power ; and Lyſias, the Syracusan orator, at that time a banished man, sent five hundred men, at his own expence, to the relief of the common country of eloquence. There was a desperate battle ; but as they fought on one side for their native country with all their vigour, and on the other for the domination of others, and consequently with more indifference, the tyrants were conquered. Being vanquished, they fly back into the city, which, being already exhausted by slaughter, they now plunder of its arms. After this, suspecting all the Athenians of treachery, they order them to remove out of the town, and to live within these

these arms of the walls that had been demolished, defending themselves with foreign soldiers. Next they attempt to corrupt Thrasylbulus, promising him a share in the government. But, not having success in this, they applied to the Lacedemonians for assistance ; and, upon its coming, they take the field again. In this battle Critias and Hippolochus, two of the fiercest of the tyrants, fell.

C H A P. X. The rest being defeated, when their army, which, for the greatest part, was made up of Athenians, fled away, Thrasylbulus called out to them with a loud voice, why they fled from a conqueror whom they ought rather to join, as being the asserter of the public liberty ; adding, that they ought to reflect that his army was composed of citizens, and not of enemies, and that he had not taken arms to plunder the conquered, but to restore them their own ; that his war was not against the city, but the thirty tyrants. Then he put them in mind of their natural, their civil and religious ties, and of their long and ancient fellowship during many wars. He conjured them, that if they themselves could submit patiently to the yoke, they would however have pity on their fellow-citizens, who were banished for no other reason but because they would not be slaves ; and to restore his country to him, that he might restore them to their liberty. This speech had such an influence, that when the army came back to the city, they commanded the thirty tyrants to retire immediately to Eleusis, appointing ten commissaries in their steads to administer the public affairs ; who, not in the least terrified by the example of their predecessors, went on in the same train of cruelty. While these things were transacting, they received advice at Lacedemon, that the war had broke out again at Athens, and to repel it Pausanias, their king, is sent ; who, being touched with compassion towards these miserable refugees, restored them to their country, and orders the ten tyrants to remove out of the city, and join their companions at Eleusis. By which means there was peace ; but a little time after the tyrants, no less enraged at the restoration of the banished

banished Athenians, than at their own banishment, as indeed the liberty of others had been bringing slavery upon them, on a sudden make war upon the Athenians. But as they were going to an interview, as it were to receive their authority again, an ambuscade being laid for them, they were seized, and made victims of peace. The people they had ordered to leave the town were recalled. Thus Athens, which was divided into several members, is at last reduced into one body. And that no difference might arise from the remembrance of former affairs, every man bound himself by oath to bury what was past in oblivion. In the mean time the Thebans and Corinthians sent ambassadors to the Lacedemonians to desire a part of the plunder, since they ran the common risks of the war; which being denied them, they do not indeed openly resolve upon a war against the Lacedemonians, but laid up so deep a resentment in their silent minds, that one might easily see that war was a hatching.

CHÂP. XI. Almost about the same time Darius, king of Persia, died, leaving two sons behind him. He bequeathed, by his last will, his kingdom to Artaxerxes, and to Cyrus those cities of which he had been governor. But Cyrus looked upon this distribution as injurious, and therefore he privately made preparations for a war against his brother. When Artaxerxes was informed of this, he sent for him, and tho' he pretended innocence, and denied all designs of war, he bound him in golden chains, and would have put him to death, had not his mother interposed. Wherefore Cyrus being let go, began now to prepare war, not secretly, but publicly, not with dissimulation, but avowedly, and draws auxiliaries together from all parts. The Lacedemonians, mindful of the vigorous assistance they had received by his means in the Athenian war, enter into a resolution that aids should be sent to Cyrus whenever his affairs required it; aiming, by this artificial conduct, to secure themselves favour with Cyrus, and, at the same time, a plea for pardon with Artaxerxes, in case of his success, because they had decreed nothing openly against him. The two brothers hap-
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pening to meet together in the fight, Artaxerxes was first wounded by Cyrus, but luckily escaped by the goodness of his horse. Cyrus, overpowered by the king's battalion, was slain. Thus Artaxerxes having worsted his brother, he comes off conqueror, and makes both his brother's army, and the plunder of the war, his own. In this war there were ten thousand Greek auxiliaries, who not only got the better in that wing of the army in which they fought, but, after Cyrus was slain, could neither be defeated by force, nor taken by stratagem; and, returning home through so many wild and savage nations, defended themselves in a long march by their own proper valour, till they arrived in safety to their own country.

B O O K VI.

A SUMMARY of the CHAPTERS.

- I. *The Lacedemonians, affecting the empire of Asia, raise war. The king of Persia gives the command of his fleet to Conon, and sends assistance to the Athenians.*
- II. *The Lacedemonians choose Agesilaus for their general. The prudence and brave deeds of Conon.*
- III. *A battle between Conon and Pisander, in which the Lacedemonians were routed.*
- IV. *The affairs of the Lacedemonians begin to decline, and are supported by the valour of Agesilaus.*
- V. *The Athenians oppose Conon and Iphicrates to the Lacedemonians. The Athenians repair their city out of the Lacedemonian spoils.*
- VI. *Peace is proclaimed by the king of Persia throughout all Greece; but the Lacedemonians break it greatly to their own loss.*
- VII. *The Thebans fall upon the Lacedemonians; whence the doubtful battle of Mantinea.*
- VIII. *The life, death, and just praises of Epaminondas.*
- IX. *The total ruin of Greece after his death.*

C H A P.

C H A P. I.

THe Lacedemonians, according to the nature of mankind, the more they get, the more covetous and ambitious they become; and not content that their strength was doubled by the accession of the Athenian power, began to thirst after the empire of all Asia; but the greater part of it was under the dominion of the king of Persia. Wherefore Hercyllides being chosen general for this expedition, when he saw that he was engaged against two of Artaxerxes's lieutenants, Pharnabazus, and Tissaernes, supported by the united strength of very great nations, he determined to make peace with one of them. Tissaernes seeming the properer of the two, as being preferable to the other in respect of application to business, and as having greater interest with the soldiery that belonged to the late king Cyrus, he was invited to a conference, and, upon certain conditions agreed upon, arms were laid down on both sides. Pharnabazus represents this transaction in a criminal light to their common sovereign, telling him, that Tissaernes had not repelled the Lacedemonians by force upon their invading Asia, but maintained them at his majesty's charge; and had bargained with them for money about what was to be done, and what was to be put off in the war, as if every loss did not affect the whole empire in general; adding, that it was a shameful thing that their wars should not be decided by the sword, but bought off, and that the enemy should be removed by money, and not by force of arms. He advises the king, whom he had irritated against Tissaernes by these words, to choose Conon, the Athenian commander of the war by sea, in his room, who, his country being ruined by the war, lived in exile at Cyprus. For tho' the power of the Athenians was quite broken, yet they had not lost their experience in naval affairs, and he could not possibly pitch upon a fitter person, were he to choose one out of them all. Thus, being furnished with five hundred talents, he

he was ordered to give Conon the command of the fleet.

CHAP. II. When the Lacedemonians got intelligence of these things, they desired assistance for the sea war from Hercynion, king of Egypt, by ambassadors; and he sent them a hundred gallies with three banks of oars, and six hundred thousand bushels of corn. A great many troops were likewise sent from their other allies; but an able general to command so great an army against such a general as they had to do with, was wanting. Wherefore the allies desiring to have Agesilaus for their general, who was then king of the Lacedemonians, the Lacedemonians debated a long while whether they should intrust him with so high a charge, by reason of an answer they had received from the Delphian oracle, in which it was declared, that there should be an end of their state when the kingly authority was lame, for Agesilaus was lame of a foot. At last they came to a resolution, that it was better for the king than the kingdom to halt. Now, after they sent Agesilaus with a vast army into Asia, I cannot easily say what other pair of generals was ever so equally matched; for their age, valour, conduct, wisdom, were very equal, and they were no less so in respect of the glory of their exploits: and as they were alike in all other circumstances, so fortune had never given one of them any advantage over the other. Great therefore were the preparations for war on both sides, and great were their exploits. But Conon was disturbed by a mutiny among the soldiers, whom the king's lieutenants used to defraud of their pay; they demanded their arrears the more obstinately, as they knew very well that under so great a general their service would be very severe and rigorous. Conon having long importuned the king by letters to no purpose, at last goes to him in person; but he could not have access to him, because he would not pay him adoration after the Persian manner. He treats however with him by messengers, and complains that the wars of the most opulent king in the world should be marred by not paying the army; that he, who had an army equal to the enemy's, should be

be baffled by the force of money, in which he was so far superior to them; and so be inferior to them precisely in that article by which he so far surpassed them. He desires that one pay-master might be appointed for the future, because it might be of dangerous consequence to commit that trust to many. Money for paying the army being furnished him, he is sent back to the fleet, nor did he make any delay to enter upon action. He did many brave actions, and had much good fortune. He lays the enemy's country waste; takes several cities, and bears down all before him like a hurricane. The Lacedemonians being affrighted, resolve to recal Agesilaus from Asia, to the defence of their own country.

CH A P. III. In the mean time Pisander, who was appointed general for his country by Agesilaus, at his departure, fits out a great fleet with all expedition, designing to try the fortune of war. Conon, on the other hand, puts his men in the best order, being then to engage for the first time with the enemy's army. The emulation was not greater between the generals than among the soldiers in this battle. As to Conon, the general, he did not so much regard the interest of the Persians, as that of his own country; and as he had been the occasion of the Athenians losing in their low estate their supreme sway, so he had a desire to be accounted its restorer, and to recover by one conquest to his country what he had lost to them by the misfortunes of war; and to do this in so much the more glorious a manner, that he was not to fight with the forces of the Athenians themselves, but with foreign troops; to engage at the hazard of the king, but to conquer to the advantage of his own country; and to get glory by acts different from those by which the former generals of his country had acquired theirs; for as they had defended their state by conquering the Persians, he should restore his country by making the Persians conquerors. Besides, Pisander was, on account of his relation to Agesilaus, a generous rival of his virtues; and strove not to fall short of his glorious performances, or to subvert, by one fatal oversight, a state that had obtained

tained its present splendour at the expence of many wars, and by the labours and struggles of so many ages. The zeal of all the soldiers and sailors was equal ; for they were not so much concerned lest they should lose the power they had got, as lest the Athenians should recover their ancient might. But the more obstinate the battle was, so much the more famous was the victory of Conon. The Lacedemonians, being conquered, take to flight. The enemy's garisons are sent out of Athens. The people being restored to their dignity, their servitude is at an end, and several cities were reduced to their former obedience.

C H A P. IV. This was to the Athenians the beginning of their restoration to power, and to the Lacedemonians the finishing stroke to theirs : for, as if they had lost their valour with their dominion, they began to be contemned by their neighbours ; wherefore, first the Thebans made war upon them with the assistance of the Athenians. The Thebans were raised, from a very low beginning, to the hopes of giving laws to all Greece, by the conduct of Epaminondas their general. This affair was decided by a land battle, the Lacedemonians having in it the same fortune they had against Conon in the sea-fight. In this battle Lyfander, under whom, when he was general, the Lacedemonians overcame the Athenians, was killed. Pausanias, the other general of the Lacedemonians, being accused of treachery, went voluntarily into banishment. Wherefore the Athenians, having got the victory, lead their whole army to the city of the Lacedemonians, imagining it would not be difficult to take it, because it was abandoned by all their allies ; which the Lacedemonians suspecting, order Agesilaus their king to leave Asia, where he was performing great exploits, and come to the relief of his country. For Lyfander being slain, they had confidence in no other general ; but he being tardy in coming, they were forced to raise an army, and go to meet the enemy. But having been lately conquered, they had neither courage nor strength enough to oppose the victors ; so that they were vanquished in the very first onset. Agesilaus came
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up when the army of his countrymen was routed, and renewing the fight, he, with his fresh forces, that were hardened by many expeditions, without much difficulty, recovered the victory from the enemy, but he himself was grievously wounded.

CH A P. V. When the Athenians were informed of this, fearing, that if the Lacedemonians obtained another victory, they would reduce them to their former state of slavery, they raise an army, and order it to be led to the assistance of the Boeotians by Iphicrates, who was but twenty years old, but a young man of great spirit and genius. The conduct of this young general was far above his age; nor had the Athenians ever before him any commander of greater hopes, or perfections that sooner ripened. In him, not only all the qualities of an accomplished general, but of an orator too, were eminent. Conon, having heard of the return of Agesilaus, came back himself from Asia to ravage the country of the Lacedemonians; and thus the terror of war roaring on every side of them, the Spartans, being shut up within their walls, are reduced to the most desperate condition. But, having wasted the enemy's country, he goes to Athens, where he was received with all demonstrations of joy; but he was more grieved to see his native city burnt, and laid in ruins by the Lacedemonians, than joyed to see its recovery after so long a time; wherefore he rebuilds what had been burnt, and repairs all that was pulled down out of the spoils he had gotten, and by the help of the Persian army. Such was the fate of Athens, as it had been burnt before by the Persians, so it was restored by their hands; and as it had been demolished by the Lacedemonians, it was now rebuilt out of their spoils. The tables being turned with regard to Athens, it now had for allies those whom it then had for enemies; and those for enemies now, who were then joined to them in the strictest alliance.

CH A P. VI. While these affairs were in agitation, Artaxerxes, king of the Persians, sends embassadors into Greece, to signify to them, that they should all lay down their arms, and that he would treat those

as enemies who should not do so. He restored the cities their former immunities, and all belonging to them; which he did not do out of any compassion for the troubles that infested Greece, and their continual intestine wars, which were so destructive, but lest his armies should be forced to stay in Greece, whilst he was so busily engaged in the Egyptian war which he had undertaken, because of the assistance they had sent the Lacedemonians against his deputies; and the Greeks, being tired out with so many wars, obeyed very cheerfully. This year was not only famous upon this account, that peace was made on a sudden throughout all Greece, but for this too, that at the same time the city of Rome was taken by the Gauls. But the Lacedemonians, who watched an opportunity of falling upon the secure, finding the Arcadians absent, storm one of their castles, and having taken it, put a garison of their own into it. Upon which the Arcadians having raised, and got ready an army, taking the Thebans to their assistance, demand by open war what they had lost by surprize. In that battle Archidamus, general of the Lacedemonians, was wounded, who, finding that his army was sadly slaughtered, and giving way, demanded leave, by a herald, to bury the dead; for this is a sign among the Greeks of giving up victory. And the Thebans, satisfied with this confession, made the signal for giving quarter.

CHAP. VII. A few days after, neither side committing any hostilities, there being a truce, as it were, by tacit consent, whilst the Lacedemonians were employed in other wars against their neighbours, the Thebans, under their general Epaminondas, conceived hopes of seizing their city. Wherefore, about twilight, they march silently towards Lacedemon, but they could not surprize that city: for the old men, and others, of an age unfit for war, having perceived the enemy coming, met them with arms in the very entrance of the gates, and not above a hundred worn out old men offer battle to fifteen thousand. So much courage does the sight of one's country and home inspire, and so much greater spirit does the presence of them give than the mere remem-

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membrance ; for when they saw where, and for what they fought, they resolved either to conquer or die. And thus a few old men held out against an army, to which all their youth, the day before, could not be a match. In this battle two generals of the enemy were killed, whilst, in the mean time, news being brought of the approach of Agesilaus to the relief of the town, the Thebans retreated ; but this did not put a long stop to the battle ; for the Spartan youth, inflamed by the gallantry and glorious resolution of the old men, could not be kept from engaging immediately. As the victory inclined to the Thebans, Epaminondas, while he performed the duty, not only of a general, but of a very brave private soldier, is grievously wounded. The news of this struck the one side with grief and fear, and the other with joy to amazement ; and accordingly both sides leave the field, as it were, by mutual consent.

CHAP. VIII. A few days after, Epaminondas died of his wounds, and with him died the power of the commonwealth ; for as when you break the point of a spear, you take away from the remainder the power of hurting, so that general of the Thebans, who was, as it were, the point of their weapon, being taken off, the strength of the republic was so blunted, that they seemed not so much to have lost him, as to have all perished with him ; for they never carried on any memorable war before him, nor were they afterwards remarkable for their virtues, but for their defeats ; so that it is manifest that the glory of his country was born and died with him. But it was uncertain whether he was a better man or general ; for he sought not dominion for himself, but for his country ; and so remote was he from avarice, that he hardly left enough to bury him. Neither was he more ambitious of glory than covetous of wealth ; for all the offices he filled with such honour, were put upon him against his will ; and he acquitted himself in the posts conferred upon him so well, that he seemed not to receive, but give a lustre to the most honourable employments. Besides, such was his love of letters, and so vast his skill in philosophy,

philosophy, that it was indeed wonderful how a man that was, as it were, born amidst the sciences, could have attained to such a prodigious height in the art of war. Nor did the manner of his death disagree with his life ; for, being brought back half dead into the camp, so soon as he recovered his breath and voice, he asked this question only of those who stood about him, whether the enemy had taken his shield from him when he fell. And when he was answered it was safe, he kissed it upon its being brought to him, as the companion of his toil and glory. Then he enquired which side had got the better ; and being told the Thebans had, he said, it was very well ; and so expired, as it were, congratulating his country.

CHAP. IX. With his death the valour of the Athenians too declined. For after he was gone, whom they had been accustomed to emulate, abandoning themselves to sloth and effeminacy, they spend the public revenue, not, as formerly, upon fleets and armies, but upon festivals, and the equipage of public diversions ; and give themselves up to theatres, dramatic representations, and celebrated actors and poets ; visiting the stage oftener than the camp ; and lavishing more praise to good versifiers than to good generals. Then the public taxes, upon which soldiers and sailors were maintained before, began to be distributed among the people. By which means it came to pass, that the mean and obscure name of the Macedonians began to shine amidst this idleness and dissolution of the Greeks. And Philip, who had been kept as a hostage three years at Thebes, being instructed in the virtues of Epaminondas and Pelopidas, laid the kingdom of Macedonia as a yoke of slavery upon the necks of Greece and Asia.

BOOK VII.

A SUMMARY of the CHAPTERS.

- The old name of Macedonia, its inhabitants and first kings.*
- I. The illustrious family of king Perdiccas, and the noble fate of the infant Europus.*
- II. The Persian ambassadors are justly punished for their insolence in the court of Amyntas.*
- III. The Macedonians obtain peace by the means of Bubaris, a Persian nobleman. The tragical disasters in the family of Amyntas.*
- IV. The various fortune of Philip. His brothers falling sacrifices to their mother's hatred, he is compelled by the people to take the kingdom into his own hands.*
- V. The beginning of his reign. His wars, marriages, vices, and good qualities.*

CHAP. I.

Macedonia was formerly called Emathia, from the name of king Emathion, the first who left examples of good conduct upon record in these parts. As its beginnings were but mean, so were its boundaries very narrow. The people were called Pelasgians, and the country Pœonia. But afterwards, first their neighbours, and then other people and nations, being subdued to them by the bravery of their princes, and the industry of the nation, their confines were extended to the remotest parts of the east. In the country of Pœonia, which now makes a part of Macedonia, Pelagon, the father of Asteropæus, whose name is celebrated amongst the most famous defenders of the city in the Trojan war, is said to have resided. One Europus had the sovereignty in a country called Europa on the other side. But Caranus too being ordered, by an answer of an oracle, to seek a settlement in Macedonia

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with a great number of Greeks, after he was come in to Emathia, following a flock of goats flying from a shower of rain, seized the city of Edeffa before the inhabitants were aware of it, not being able to see by reason of a thick rain and fog ; and being put in mind of the oracle, by which he had been advised to seek a kingdom under the direction of goats as his guides, he made this city the seat of his government, and afterwards religiously took care, whithersoever he marched his army, to have the same goats before his colours, that he might have them as leaders in all his enterprizes, whom he had had for his directors in the settlement of his kingdom. He changed the name of this city from Edeffa, in memory of this good fortune, to *Ægeæ*, and called the people *Ægeatæ*. After this, dislodging Midas (for he likewise was in possession of a part of Macedonia) and driving other kings out of their territories, he alone succeeded them ; and, by uniting the small territories into one body, laid a solid foundation for the increase of his growing kingdom.

C H A P. II. After him reigned Perdiccas, whose life was illustrious ; and his dying commands were no less memorable than if they had been issued out by an oracle. For, dying very old, he shewed his son Argæus a place where he desired to be interred ; and there he ordered, not only his own bones, but those of the kings that should succeed him, to be laid ; declaring, that as long as the relicks of his posterity should be deposited there, the crown should continue in his family. And it is believed, in consequence of this superstitious notion, that the line came to be extinct in Alexander, because he changed the place of sepulture. Argæus, having administered the kingdom with moderation and the love of his subjects, left his son Philip his successor, who, being snatched away by an untimely death, made Europus, then an infant, his heir. But the Macedonians had continual disputes with the Thracians and Illyrians, who, being hardened in arms, as it were, by daily exercise, struck terror into their neighbours by the splendour of their reputation for war ; wherefore they, despising the infancy of their king,
fall

fall upon the Macedonians; who, being driven out of the field, brought their king with them in his cradle, and, placing him behind the main body of the army, renewed the fight more briskly, as if they had been beaten before because they wanted the auspicious presence of their prince, and should now infallibly conquer, because they had superstitiously conceived a confidence that they should. Besides, pity for the infant moved them, who must be made a captive if they were overcome. And therefore, having engaged, they made a great slaughter among the Illyrians, and shewed their enemy that the Macedonians only wanted a king, and not courage, in the former battle. Amyntas succeeded him; and he was famous both for his own personal valour, and for the excellent qualities of his son Alexander, whom nature had so liberally adorned with all good gifts, that he contended for victory in various kinds of exercises at the Olympic games.

CHAP. III. When, in the mean time, Darius, king of the Persians, being forced to fly out of Scythia in a shameful manner, that he might not every where be accounted inglorious by his losses in war, sent Megabazus with a part of the army to conquer Thrace, and the neighbouring kingdoms, to which he thought Macedonia would of course fall as a sorry addition. This general having in a short time executed the king's orders, sending ambassadors to Amyntas, king of Macedonia, he demanded hostages to be given him as a pledge of the future peace. But the ambassadors being courteously entertained, and drunkenness growing upon them at the feast, beg of Amyntas to add to the magnificence of his entertainment the rights of familiarity, by admitting his and his sons wives to the banquet; for amongst the Persians that was reckoned a pledge and bond of hospitality. So soon as the women were come, the Persians handling them not very modestly, Alexander, Amyntas's son, desires his father, in regard to his age and gravity, to leave the feast, promising that he would set bounds to the frolicks of their guests. The old king withdrawing, his son called the women

out for a little, under pretence of dressing them finer, and bringing them back with more charms. But in their place he substituted young men, attired in the habits of married ladies, and orders them to chastise the insolence of the ambassadors with the swords which they carried under their cloaths. Thus having slain all of them, Megabazus, who was ignorant of what had happened, because the ambassadors did not return, sends Bubares thither with a part of his army, as to a cheap and easy conquest, disdaining to go himself, that he might not disparage himself by stooping so low as to engage in person with so despicable an enemy. But Bubares, before the battle, falling in love with the daughter of Amyntas, and laying aside all thoughts of war, makes a wedding in its stead, and, dropping his hostile inclinations, comes under the ties of affinity to the king.

C H A P. IV. After the departure of Bubares from Macedonia, king Amyntas dies, to whose son and successor Alexander, the relation of Bubares not only procured a peace during the reign of Darius, but so much favour with Xerxes, that when the emperor ravaged all Greece like a furious tempest, he made him a present of the sovereignty of all that country that lies between mount Olympus and Hœmus. But he increased his kingdom no less by his own valour, than by the munificence of the Persians. After that, by the order of succession, the kingdom of Macedonia came to Amyntas, the son of his brother Menelaus. This prince was likewise remarkable for his great assiduity in business, and had all the accomplishments of a compleat general. He had three sons by Eurydice, Alexander, Perdiccas, and Philip, the father of Alexander the Great, and a daughter, named Eurycne; and by his wife Gygæa he had Archelaus, Archideus, and Menelaus. After that, he had terrible wars with the Illyrians and Olynthians; but he had certainly been taken off by the treachery of his wife Eurydice (who, having promised to marry her son-in-law, had undertaken to kill her husband, and put the kingdom into the hands of her gallant) if the daughter had not betrayed the adulterous intrigue
and

and barbarous design of her mother. Thus, having escaped so many dangers, he died old, leaving his kingdom to Alexander, the eldest of his sons.

CH A P. V. Alexander, in the beginning of his reign, bought a peace of the Illyrians for a certain sum, his brother Philip being given as a hostage. Some time after, he makes a peace with the Thebans, giving the same hostage, which gave Philip a fine opportunity of improving his extraordinary genius. For, being kept three years at Thebes as a hostage, he received the first rudiments of his education in a city, most famous for the rigidity of its discipline, and in the house of Epaminondas, a very great philosopher, as well as general. Not long after, Alexander fell by a plot of his mother Eurydice, whom Amyntas had spared when she was caught in a villainous design against him, upon the account of the children he had by her, little imagining she would one time be the ruin of them. His brother Perdiccas too was taken off by the like treachery. Horrible indeed ! that children should be deprived of their lives by a mother to gratify her lust, whom a regard to those very children had delivered from the just punishment of her crimes. The murder of Perdiccas seemed the more horrid, that even his little son could not procure him any pity with his mother. Wherefore Philip, for a long while, only acted as a guardian to this infant, and not as king ; but when dangerous wars threatened, and it appeared too long to wait for the assistance of a king, who was yet an infant, the people compelled him to take the government upon himself.

CH A P. VI. As soon as he entered upon the government, great hopes were universally conceived of him, both upon account of his parts, which promised he would be a great man, and because of the old oracles of Macedonia, which foretold that Macedonia would be a very flourishing state when one of the sons of Amyntas should reign ; for the fulfilment of which hopes the wickedness of his mother had only left him. In the beginning of his reign, whilst, on one hand, the murder of his barbarously slain brothers, on the other,

vast multitudes of enemies ; on one side his fear of plots, on the other the poverty of his kingdom, drained by a long course of wars, pressed hard upon his immature age, thinking it necessary, to manage with dexterity wars which conspired from many quarters all at once, as it were, to crush Macedonia, since he could not be a master for them all ; some differences he made up by treaties ; others he bought off ; and then attacked the weakest, as well to give courage to his soldiers by his conquering them, as to make himself less contemned by his other enemies. His first dispute was with the Athenians, whom he surprized by a stratagem ; but tho' he might have killed them, yet he dismissed them all safe without any ransom, for fear of bringing a heavier war upon his head. After this, the war being removed from thence amongst the Illyrians, he put many thousands of the enemy to the sword, and took the most noble city Larissa. After which he fell unawares upon the Thessalians, who feared nothing less than a war, not out of the desire of plunder, but because he was very earnest to add the Thessalian cavalry to his own army, and so made one body of horse and foot of an invincible army. These things succeeding happily, he marries Olympias, daughter of Neoptolemus, king of the Molossians, the match being brought about by her cousin-german Arrubas, king of the Molossians, who had educated the virgin, and married her sister Troas ; but this affair proved the cause of his ruin, and of all the calamities that afterwards beset him : for, hoping to enlarge his kingdom by means of the affinity of Philip, he was stripped by him of his crown, and grew old in exile. After these things, Philip, not content to act upon the defensive, very forwardly attacks even those who gave him no molestation. Whilst he was besieging Methona, an arrow, shot from the walls at him, struck out his right eye as he was passing by ; but this accident neither made him more slow in the prosecution of the war, nor more inflamed him against the enemy ; so that a few days after he gave them a peace upon their suing for it, and he was not only a moderate, but even a mild conqueror.

B O O K VIII.

A SUMMARY of the CHAPTERS.

- I. *The miseries of Greece under Philip. The Thebans and Phocenses kindle an intestine war.*
- II. *The Thebans send for Philip, who oppresses the Phocenses. The Athenians do their utmost for the common safety.*
- III. *Philip, on the other hand, tears Greece into pieces; adds Cappadocia to Macedonia, and destroys the Olynthians.*
- IV. *He cunningly deceives the Athenians, Bæotians, Thes-salians, and Phocenses.*
- V. *He forces the Phocenses to a surrendry, and all Greece to servile obedience.*
- VI. *He founds his monarchy upon injustice and violence.*

C H A P. I.

WHILE each state of Greece strove for the sovereignty, all of them lost it; for, rushing one against another, to their mutual destruction, they did not perceive, till they were conquered, that what each lost in particular, was a common loss to them all; since Philip, king of Macedon, waiting his opportunity, as from a watch-tower, of securing the liberty of them all, by promoting their contentions, and assisting the weaker, he obliged conquered and conquerors to submit to his yoke. The Thebans were the cause and source of this calamity, who, when they were masters of all, unable to bear their good fortune with moderation, insolently accused the Lacedemonians and Phocensians, whom they had conquered, before the common assembly of the Grecian states, as if they had not been sufficiently punished by all the rapines and havock they had suffered. The crime laid to the charge of the Lacedemonians was, that they had seized the citadel

del of Thebes in the time of a truce. To the Phocensians, that they had ravaged Bœotia ; as if, after they had punished them by war, there had been room left for the laws and the civil magistrate. The affair being decided according to the will of the conquerors, they were fined in a greater sum of money than they could raise ; wherefore the Phocensians, stripped of their wives, children and lands, and rendered desperate, seized the temple of Apollo at Delphos, under one Philomelus as their leader, as if they had been angry with the god. Being enriched with gold and money by the plunder of this temple, and having got together an army of mercenaries, they made war upon the Thebans. This action of the Phocensians, tho' it was abominated by all the world for the sacrilegiousness of it, brought more odium upon the Thebans, who had reduced them to the necessity of doing it, than upon themselves ; wherefore both the Athenians and the Lacedemonians sent assistance to them. Philomelus, in the first battle, drove the Thebans from their camp, and stripped them of all their baggage ; but, in the next, he fell fighting amongst the thickest ranks, and received the punishment due to his sacrilege, by losing his impious life. Onomarchus is made general in his stead.

CHAP. II. Against whom the Thebans and Thessalians chose for general, not one of their own country, lest they should not be able to check his power if he conquered, but Philip, king of Macedonia ; and voluntarily submitted to that power in foreign hands, which they feared so much in those of their own countrymen. Wherefore Philip, as if he was the avenger of the sacrilege, and not of the Thebans, orders all his soldiers to take crowns of laurel, and so marches to battle with the god, as it were, at their head. The Phocensians, having seen these ensigns of the god, terrified by the consciousness of their crimes, throw away their arms, and fly ; and thus suffer punishment for their violation of religion by their bloodshed, and the slaughter made of them. It is incredible how much this affair added to Philip's glory in all nations. He, they

they said, was the avenger of sacrilege ; the vindicator of religion ; and the only one to take satisfaction for what ought to have been expiated by the united forces of all mankind. He therefore was worthy to be ranked next to the gods, whose majesty he had asserted and vindicated. But the Athenians being informed of this event of the war, lest Philip should pass into Greece, possessed themselves of the streights of Thermopylæ, in like manner as they had done before to oppose the progress of the Persians ; but by no means with equal courage, nor for a like cause : for then the liberty of Greece was their motive, now they did it on the account of sacrilege ; then to defend their temples from the fury of the enemy ; now to defend the profaners and riflers of temples against the avengers of such guilt ; and thus act as defenders of a crime which it was a shame to them any others should have had the glory of punishing ; being wholly unmindful, that in their dangers they had had recourse to this god as their counsellor ; that under him they had undertaken so many wars with good success ; fortunately built so many cities, and acquired so extensive a dominion by sea and land ; and, in fine, that they had never done any thing, either of a public or private nature, without his authority. Strange ! that a people of such natural abilities, polished by learning, and brought up and formed under the best laws and institutions, should have committed such a crime, that nothing remained to them with which they could justly upbraid barbarians !

C H A P. III. But neither did Philip behave with more candour towards his allies ; for, as if he had been afraid of being outdone in sacrilege by the enemies, he plundered and laid waste, in a hostile manner, those very cities which had served under his command, and who had congratulated him and themselves upon the late victory. He sold all their wives and children as slaves ; he spared not the temples of the gods, nor other sacred structures ; nay, nor even the private or public tutelar gods, before whom he had so lately appeared as a guest and a friend ; so that he did not seem to have been so much the punisher of sacrilege, as to

have fought a license for committing it. Then, as if he had done his business excellently well, he goes over into Cappadocia, where, having managed the war with the same perfidious methods, and killed and taken the neighbouring kings by treachery, he joins all that province to the empire of Macedonia. Then, to wipe off the odious character which he had above all others at that time, he sends some persons thro' the neighbouring kingdoms and richest cities, to spread a report that king Philip was ready to contract a vast sum for rebuilding the walls of several cities, and the temples and sacred edifices, and to invite undertakers by public criers; who, when they were come into Macedonia, after being disappointed by various shifts, dreading the power of the king's wrath, departed privately. After this he fell upon the Olynthians; for they had, out of pity, given refuge to two of his brothers, the third being murdered, whom, being by a step-mother, Philip would gladly have taken off, as pretenders to share the kingdom with him. For this reason therefore he destroys that ancient and noble city, and delivers up his brothers to the punishment long before intended for them, and so, at the same time, got a good deal of plunder, and gratified his revenge. Then, as if every thing he had an inclination to do had been lawful to him, he seizes upon the gold mines in Thessaly, and the silver mines in Thrace. And that he might leave no right or law unviolated by him, he began to act the pyrate. After these transactions it happened, by chance, that two brothers, kings of Thrace, chose him to be arbitrator of their differences; not out of regard to his justice, but mutual fear on each side, that he should join the other's strength. But Philip, agreeably to his treacherous temper, came with an army in proper order to the trial, as if he had been come to a battle, and surprising the brothers, little dreading any such thing, stripped them both of their kingdoms with all the perfidy and baseness of a robber.

C H A P. IV. While these things were in agitation, ambassadors came to him from Athens to desire peace. And, having heard them, he sent ambassadors

to Athens with the articles, and there a peace was concluded to the advantage of both parties. Embassadors came likewise from the other cities of Greece, not out of love of peace, but fear of war. For the Theſſalians and Bœotians, their anger growing more cruel, deſire him to ſhew himſelf the general he profeſſed to be againſt the Phocenfes : ſo fierce did their hatred burn againſt this people, that, forgetting their own calamities, they rather choſe to periſh themſelves, than not to deſtroy them; and to ſuffer the experienced cruelty of Philip, rather than ſpare their enemies. On the other hand, the embassadors of the Phocenfians, the Lacedemonians and Athenians joining with them, endeavoured to avert the war, a delay of which they had thrice bought from him. It was a moſt miſerable and ſhameful ſight, that Greece, at that time the moſt conſiderable country in the world, both for ſtrength and dignity, that had always been the conqueror of kings and nations, and was as yet miſtreſs of ſo many cities, ſhould cringe at a foreign court, either to ſuppliate peace, or deprecate war; that the deliverers of the world ſhould place all their hopes upon aſſiſtance from another; and be reduced to ſo low an ebb by their intestine contentions and feuds, as to be forced to flatter a power which had been but a little before a ſmall part of their vaſſalage; and that the Thebans and Lacedemonians eſpecially ſhould do this, who, as they were formerly rivals for power, now ſeemed to ſtrive who ſhould be the greateſt favourite with their common tyrant, by ſubmiſſion to him. Philip, to ſhew his greatneſs, teſtifies a diſdain for their great cities, and conſiders a long time which he ſhould vouchſafe to favour; wherefore, having heard both embaſſies privately, he promiſed the one a ſecurity from war, obliging them, by oath, to diſcloſe his answer to no body; to the other aſſiſtance. He forbids both to prepare for war, or to fear it. Thus, a different answer being given to each, while all were ſecure, he ſeized upon the narrow paſs of Thermopylæ.

CHAP. V. Then, firſt of all, the Phocenfes perceiving themſelves over-reached by the cunning of

Philip, have recourse to arms. But there was neither time to prepare duly for the war, nor to get auxiliaries; and Philip threatened destruction, if they did not immediately surrender. Thus being forced to yield to the necessity of their affairs, they surrendered themselves; having first capitulated for their lives: but this stipulation was just as faithfully observed as his promise before, not to make war against them; wherefore they were every where put to the sword, or made prisoners: children were torn from their parents, wives from their husbands, and the statues of their gods from the temples. The miserable people had only one comfort, that Philip having cheated the allies of their share of the booty, they saw none of their goods in the hands of their enemies. When he returned to his kingdom, as shepherds drive their flocks, sometimes into winter, sometimes into summer pastures, he transplanted, according to his caprice, people and cities, as places seemed to him either fit to be replenished, or to be abandoned. All things had a most miserable aspect, looking like a destroy'd country. There was not indeed that dread of an enemy, that running about of soldiers, nor that seizing of goods, &c. which happens on the other occasion, but a suppressed sadness, and silent grief; they being afraid their very tears should be imputed to obstinacy. Their sorrow was augmented by the concealment of it; sinking so much deeper, by how much the less they durst utter it. One while they considered the sepulchres of their ancestors; another while their ancient household gods; the houses in which they had begotten their children, and in which they themselves had been begot: lamenting one while their own fate, that they had lived to that day; another while, that of their children, that they were not born after it.

C H A P. VI. Some of them he planted upon the frontiers, to keep out his enemies; and others he settled in the extreme parts of his kingdom. Some whom he had taken in war, he distributed to fill up certain cities. And thus, out of a mixture of many people and nations, he made one kingdom and people. The affairs of Macedonia being settled and put in order, he sub-
dued

duced the Dardanians, and his other neighbours, having surprized them by fraud. But neither did he keep his hands from his relations; for he resolved to turn Arrubas king of Epirus, who was so nearly related to his wife Olympias, out of his kingdom: and he sends for Alexander his step-son, the brother of his wife Olympias, a youth of singular beauty, into Macedonia, in his sister's name; and having tempted him with the utmost assiduity by the flattering hopes of a kingdom, and by high pretences of love for him, he engaged him in a criminal commerce with him; reckoning to have him the more at his command, either through the shame of his infamous prostitution of his person, or the obligation of having received a kingdom from him. When therefore he was come to twenty years of age, he took the kingdom from Arrubas, to give it to this youth; acting a base part in both respects; for he basely violated the laws of consanguinity, with regard to him from whom he took the kingdom; and him whom he made king, he had first made a despicable prostitute to his lusts.

BOOK IX.

A SUMMARY of the CHAPTERS.

- I. *Philip's designs upon Greece. He besieges Byzantium, but in vain.*
- II. *He is over-reached by the king of Scythia.*
- III. *The Triballi take the booty from him. He defeats the Thebans and Athenians.*
- IV. *He uses his victory with great moderation. His cruelty to the Thebans.*
- V. *He endeavours to compose the commotions in Greece, that he might be at leisure to attack the Persians.*
- VI. *Pausanias kills Philip out of revenge.*
- VII. *Olympias and Alexander supposed to be privy to the murder.*
- VIII. *Philip's character. A comparison between him and his son Alexander.*

C H A P.

C H A P. I.

AFTER Philip was come into Greece, being tempted by the hopes of plundering a few cities, when he saw by the booty he found in cities of less note, how great riches all of them joined together must have, he resolved to declare war against all Greece; and thinking it would be not a little to the advantage of his design, if he could make himself master of Byzantium, a noble city and sea-port, because it would be a convenient retreat to his troops by land and sea, he laid close siege to it, the inhabitants having shut the gates against him. For this city was built first by Pausanias, king of the Spartans, and possessed by him for some years: then, as the fortune of war varied, it was sometimes reckon'd to belong to the Lacedemonians, and sometimes to the Athenians; which uncertain possession was the reason that none assisting it as their own, it had maintain'd its own liberty with the greater courage and steadiness. But Philip being exhausted by the long continuance of the siege, sets up a trade of piracy, to supply him with money; and therefore having taken a hundred and seventy ships, and sold off the cargoes, he refreshed his breathless gasping poverty for a little time. Then, that so great an army might not be kept employed in the attack of one city only, marching away with his best troops, he took many cities of the Chersonesians: and he sends for his son Alexander to him, who was then eighteen years old, that, under the command of his father, he might serve his first apprenticeship, and learn the first rudiments of the military arts. He likewise marched into Scythia to plunder, in order to make up the expences of one war by another, after the manner of traders.

C H A P. II. Atheas was at that time king of the Scythians, who being distress'd by a war with the Illyrians, begs aid from Philip, by the Apollonians, promising to adopt him for his successor to the kingdom of Scythia. In the mean time, the death of the king of the Illyrians freed the Scythians both from the fear of war, and the war

want of auxiliaries ; wherefore Atheas sending back the Macedonians, orders them to acquaint Philip, that he had neither desired his assistance, nor promised to adopt him ; for neither did the Scythians want the defence of the Macedonians, being much better than they ; nor did he stand in need of an heir, while he had a son alive. When Philip heard this, he sends ambassadors to Atheas, to desire a part of the expences of the siege, that he might not be forced to drop the war for want of money : and this, he said, ought the more readily to be granted, since, far from rewarding the soldiers he had sent to his assistance, he had not so much as given them enough to support them in their march. Atheas alledging the rigour of the climate, and the sterility of the soil, which, far from enriching the Scythians, did not so much as supply them with necessaries, replied, that he had not wealth sufficient to satisfy so great a king ; and that he thought it more scandalous to do but little, than to deny the whole ; and that the Scythians were esteem'd for their bravery and their hardiness, and not for their riches. Philip being thus bantered, raising the siege of Byzantium, he enters upon a war against Scythia ; sending ambassadors before, to lull them into security, by telling Atheas, that whilst he was besieging Byzantium, he had vowed a statue to Hercules, and that he was coming to erect this at the mouth of the Ister ; for which end he requested peaceable access to perform his vow, since he would come as a friend to the Scythians. The other sends him word, that if he had a mind to fulfil his vow, he might send him the statue ; promising not only to set it up, but that it should remain uninjured ; but he refuses to suffer an army to enter his country, and threatens that if he erected the statue in spite of the Scythians, he would take it down, and convert the brass of it into points of arrows. Both parties being mutually irritated by these answers, took the field. Though the Scythians were superior in number and valour, yet they were overcome by the policy of Philip. Twenty thousand boys and women were taken, with a vast number of cattle, but no gold or silver. This was the first proof of the Scythian poverty.

Twenty

Twenty thousand fine mares were sent into Macedonia, for a breed.

C H A P. III. But the Triballi met Philip, as he was returning from Scythia, and refuse to allow him passage, unless they have a share of the spoil: upon this, a dispute arose, and presently an engagement, in which Philip was so wounded in the thigh, that his horse was killed through his body. Whilst all thought him killed, the booty was lost. Thus the spoils of Scythia, as if a curse had attended them, were almost fatal to the Macedonians. But as soon as he recovered of his wound, he makes the war upon the Athenians, the design of which had been so long dissembled; whose cause the Thebans espoused, fearing lest after the Athenians were conquered, the war, like a fire in the neighbourhood, should spread to them. For which reason, an alliance being made between the two cities, which were but a little before in violent enmity, they plagued all Greece with their embassies. They think that the common enemy ought to be repelled by united strength; for that Philip would not give over, if he was successful in his first attempts, 'till he had conquer'd all Greece. Some cities were prevailed upon to join themselves to the Athenians, but the fear of the war engaged some to go over to Philip. A battle being fought, though the Athenians were much superior to the Macedonians in number, yet they could not withstand their valour, who had been harden'd by a long course of wars. They did not, however, fall unmindful of their former glory; for dying with wounds received in the fore parts of their bodies, they covered the places they were commanded by their leaders to maintain, with their bodies. This day put an end both to the celebrated sovereignty of Greece, and her most ancient liberty.

C H A P. IV. The joy for this victory was artfully conceal'd. In short, Philip did not offer the usual sacrifices that day. He did not laugh, nor allow of any diversions at table. He used neither crowns, nor ointments, and, as much as in him lay, so managed his conquest, that none might perceive he had conquer'd. Neither did he call himself the king, but

the general of Greece ; and behaved with such dextrous moderation between his own secret joy, and the enemy's sorrow, that he neither appear'd amongst his own subjects to rejoice, nor amongst the vanquished to insult them. He both released, without a ransom, the Athenian prisoners, though he had found that people to be his bitterest enemies, and restored to them the bodies of those that were killed in the battle, that they might bury them ; and he advised them to carry their head into the sepulchres of their ancestors. Besides this, he sent Alexander his son, with his friend Antipater, to Athens, to make a peace and a confederacy with them. But he not only sold the prisoners of the Thebans, but likewise the liberty of burying their slain. Some leading men of the city he put to death, others he banished, and took possession of their estates. After that, he restored those to their country that had been driven out of it unjustly. He made three hundred of their number judges and governors of the city ; before whom, when all the wealthiest and most powerful citizens were accused of that very crime, viz. that they had unjustly banished them, they were men of so great courage, that they all confessed the fact ; but affirmed that it was much better with their country when they were condemned, than now when they were restored. Wonderful boldness indeed ! they pass sentence upon the judges of their life and death, and despise that pardon which their enemies could give them. And because they could not revenge themselves by deeds, they assume liberty with their tongues.

CH A P. V. Affairs being settled in Greece, Philip orders deputies from all the cities to be summoned to Corinth, to adjust all matters. There he fixes articles of peace for all Greece, according to the deserts of each city ; and out of them all, chose as it were one senate to consult with ; only the Lacedemonians despise both the terms and the king, thinking it a state of slavery, and not of peace, that had not been agreed upon by the cities themselves, but was settled at the conqueror's discretion. Then the quota's of soldiers for every city are determined, whether the king was to be assisted

assisted by that army, in case of an invasion, or a war was to be made upon any one by him as general: for it was not now doubted that these preparations were intended against the persian empire. The sum of these forces was two hundred thousand foot and fifteen thousand horse. Besides these, there was the Macedonian army, and the rabble of the lately conquer'd barbarous nations. In the beginning of spring, he sends before him three of his commanders into Asia, which was under the jurisdiction of the Persians, Parmenio, Amyntas, and Attalus, whose sister he had married, having lately divorced Olympias, the mother of Alexander, upon the suspicion of adultery.

C H A P. VI. In the mean time, while the auxiliaries are drawing together from all parts of Greece, he celebrates the marriage of his daughter Cleopatra with Alexander, whom he had made king of Epire. This was a remarkable day for its magnificence, suitable to the grandeur of the two kings; both of him that gave his daughter in marriage, and the other who married her. The pomp of games was not wanting, to the sight of which as Philip was going without his guards, walking between the two Alexanders, his son and his son-in-law; Pausanias, a noble Macedonian youth, without being suspected by any body, having seized a narrow pass, kills Philip as he was passing through it, and so turn'd a day destined to joy and mirth, into a day of mourning. This Pausanias, when he was very young, had suffer'd a most atrocious abuse from Attalus, which was aggravated by this horrible indignity, that Attalus bringing him to a feast, and making him drunk, had exposed him like a common prostitute, not only to his own lust, but also to that of the company; by which means, he became the laughing-stock of his fellows. Pausanias resenting this affront highly, had often complain'd to Philip; but being put off by silly excuses, and not without being ridiculed, while at the same time his adversary was honour'd with a general's commission, he turns his rage against Philip himself, and took that revenge upon his judge, which he could not have upon his enemy.

CHAP. VII. It was believed that he was put upon it by Olympias, the mother of Alexander; and that Alexander himself was not ignorant of the plot; for Olympias had no less resented her divorce, and the preference of Cleopatra to her, than Pausanias his abuse. As for Alexander, 'tis said he fear'd his brother by his step-mother, as his rival for the kingdom; and had been thereby provoked to quarrel, at an entertainment, first with Attalus, and presently after with his father, insomuch that Philip pursued him with his drawn sword, and was hardly hindered from killing his son, by the entreaties of his friends: for which reason Alexander had retired with his mother into Epire, to his uncle, and from thence to the king of the Illyrians, and was with much difficulty reconciled to his father, when he recall'd him, and not easily prevail'd upon, by the importunity of his relations, to return. Olympias too was instigating her brother Alexander king of Epire, to go to war with him; and would have prevail'd, unless he had prevented his son-in-law, by giving him his daughter in marriage. Upon these provocations, both of them are thought to have encouraged Pausanias to do great a crime, who was perpetually complaining of the unpunish'd injury he had done to him. Olympias, 'tis certain, had horses prepared for the escape of the murderer: and then she, upon hearing of the king's death, coming to his funeral under pretence of conjugal affection, the very same night that she came, put a crown of gold upon the head of Pausanias, who was then hanging on a cross, which none else but she could have dared to have done, whilst the son of Philip was alive. A few days after, she orders the body to be taken down, and burnt with the relicks of her husband; and made a tomb for him in the same place, and infused such a superstitious notion into the people, that yearly sacrifices were offer'd to his manes. After this, she forced Cleopatra, for whose sake she had been divorced from Philip, to hang herself; having first murder'd her daughter on her lap; and she went to see and enjoy this sad spectacle, to which she had hastened by parricide. At last, she consecrated the sword, with which

which the king was killed, to Apollo, under the name of Myrtale; for that was her own name, when she was a child. All these things were done so publickly, that she seems to have only feared lest it should not be evident enough that the villainy had been committed by her.

CH A P. VIII. Philip died forty seven years old, after he had reign'd twenty five years. He had a son called Aridæus, who reigned after Alexander, by an actress of Larissa. He had likewise many others by several wives, as 'tis usual with princes, some of whom died a natural, others a violent death. He was a prince who took more delight in warlike preparations than in feasts: his greatest riches were military stores; and he was more dextrous in the art of getting money, than in keeping it; wherefore he was always from hand to mouth amidst all his rapines and plunders. To him, mercy and perfidiousness were indifferent; and he thought no way to conquest dishonourable. He was equally smooth and treacherous in his address; he would promise much more than he intended to perform: and he was equally turned for serious conversation, or for raillery. He measured friendships by interest, and not by fidelity. His familiar practice was pretending kindness to those he hated, and counterfeiting coldness when he loved; fomenting animosities amongst friends, and currying favour with both sides. He was remarkably eloquent; his conversation acute and artful; equally easy and elegant; ready, and yet well ornamented. To him succeeded Alexander, who was greater than his father, both in his virtues and vices; therefore their methods of conquering were very different. This prince carried on his war by open force, the other by wiles: the one took pleasure in out-witting an enemy the other in defeating them openly: the one was more prudent in council, the other more magnificent in his temper. The father could dissemble his resentment and often subdue it; when the other was provoked, his anger could bear no delay, and keep within no bounds. They were both excessive lovers of wine, but the drunkenness had very different effects: the father would

from an entertainment against his enemy, and rashly expose himself to dangers; Alexander vented his drunken rage, not upon his enemies, but his friends. Thus we find that Philip often returned from battles wounded, and Alexander frequently came from conquests stained with the blood of his friends. The one chose to reign with his friends, the other to reign over them. The father chose to make himself loved, the son to make himself feared. They were both equally great encouragers of learning. The father had more learning, the son more honour. Philip was more moderate in his discourse, the other in his actions: the son was more inclined to spare, and deal generously with the conquer'd; the father spared not his allies. The father loved frugality, the son was more addicted to luxury. By the same arts by which the father laid the foundation of the empire of the world, did the son accomplish and finish the glory of the whole work.

BOOK X.

A SUMMARY of the CHAPTERS.

Artaxerxes's sons conspire against their father; but the conspiracy being discovered, are punished.

The causes of this conspiracy.

I. Ochus successor to Artaxerxes. Codomannus chosen after him. The downfall of the Persian monarchy.

CHAP. I.

Artaxerxes, king of the Persians, had an hundred and fifteen sons by his concubines, but three only begotten in lawful marriage, Darius, Ariarates, and Ochus. Of these the father, out of his paternal fondness, made Darius king in his own life, contrary to the usage of the Persians, amongst whom a new king never ascends the throne, till after the decease of his predecessor: for he thought he lost nothing that he could confer on his son, and expected

pected greater joy from having progeny, if he beheld one of them adorned with the badges of royalty during his life. But Darius, after this strange instance of his father's affection, formed a design to kill him. A wicked villain, if he alone had projected the parricide, but the more wicked still, that he had seduced fifty of his brothers to be his accomplices in it. It was indeed a kind of miracle, that so great a number could be privy to this design, and yet conceal it; and that there was not one of the fifty, whom either the majesty of a father, or the veneration due to old age, or filial affection, could keep back from so cruel an action. Was a father's name so contemptible among such a numerous race of sons, that he who ought to have been protected by them against all hostile attempts, being attack'd by them, was safer from his enemies than his sons?

C H A P. II. The cause of this parricide was more wicked than the parricide itself. For Cyrus being slain in the war against his brother, as we have already related, Artaxerxes had taken his concubine Aspasia in marriage. Darius had desired his father to resign her to him, as well as the kingdom; and he, out of fondness to his children, said first he would do it; but afterwards changing his mind, that he might the more honourably refuse what he had rashly promised, he made her a priestess of the sun, which office bound her to perpetual abstinence from men. The youth, highly provoked at this, first broke out into raillery against his father, and soon after engaged his brothers into the abovementioned conspiracy against him: but whilst he was laying a plot for his father, being discovered with his accomplices, he paid satisfaction for his parricide to the gods, the avengers of fatherly authority. The wives and children of all the conspirators were put to death, that no trace of such an execrable villain might remain to posterity. After that, Artaxerxes died of a distemper contracted by grief; having been much happier as a king than a father.

C H A P. III. The kingdom was delivered to Cambyses, who, fearing the like conspiracy, fills the palace with

with the blood of his relations and the grandees, without compassion either to age, consanguinity, or sex; yet, as one would think, he should be thought more innocent than his brethren the parricides. After this he makes war upon the Cadusians, wherein one Codomannus, with the good wishes of all the Persians, engaged with a champion of the enemy that had challenged a whole army; and, having killed his adversary, restored to his side at once the victory, and the glory which they had almost lost. For this noble behaviour the same Codomannus is made governor of Armenia; and, some time after, upon the death of Ochus, he is elected king by the people in memory of his former bravery, and honoured with the name of Darius, that he might want nothing of the royal dignity. He waged war a long time with Alexander the Great with various fortune, but with great good conduct. At last, being overcome by Alexander, and slain by his relations, he ended his life, together with the kingdom of the Persians.

B O O K X I.

A SUMMARY of the CHAPTERS.

Philip being killed, Alexander keeps the Macedonians in their allegiance and duty.

I. The beginning of his reign. Designs to invade the Persians.

II. Suppresses the Grecians preparing to revolt.

III. He destroys Thebes, and is angry with the Athenians.

IV. He behaves himself cruelly to his relations.

V. Sets up military discipline. Defeats the Persians.

VI. He cunningly unties the Gordian knot, and escapes the snares laid for him.

VII. He falls dangerously ill, and recovers his health again.

IX. He

IX. *He defeats the Persians a second time. Takes Darius's wife, mother, and daughter.*

X. *Falls into the Persian luxury. Takes Tyre.*

XI. *Goes to the oracle of Jupiter Hammon.*

XII. *Darius sues for peace, and is refused.*

XIII. *Preparations on both sides for another battle.*

XIV. *The Persians are defeated. A great booty taken.*

XV. *Darius is bound and wounded by his own men. Sends compliments to Alexander, and dies like one having a kingly soul. Alexander inters him with suitable mourning and honour.*

CHAP. I.

AS Philip's army was composed of different nations; so when he was dead, their minds were differently affected. For some, being unjustly enslaved and oppressed, roused themselves to the hopes of recovering their liberty. Others, out of a dreadful apprehension of the dangers of an expedition into so remote parts, rejoiced that they were now excused from that service. And some lamented that the torch, lighted up at the daughter's wedding, should have been put under the father's funeral pile. No small fear too had seized upon his friends upon so sudden an alteration of affairs, while they thought one while upon Asia that had been provoked, another while upon Europe not yet conquered, another upon the Illyrians, Thracians, Dardanians, and other barbarous nations, of wavering perfidious minds; and that if all these people should rebel at once, it would be impossible to save the commonwealth. To all which distractions the coming in of Alexander was a cure, who, in an assembly, did comfort and encourage the common people, that he removed the apprehensions of those who feared, and filled them all with joyful hopes. He was twenty years old, at which age he promised a great deal, tho' he was too modest to boast, and rather reserved himself to a trial. He granted the Macedonians an immunity in all cases, except a discharge from war. By which deed he so ingratiated himself with the people, that

they said they had only changed the person, and not the virtues of their king.

CHAP. II. His first care was about his father's sepulture, in which he gave particular orders, that those who were guilty of his father's murder should be killed at his tomb. He spared Alexander, the brother of Lyncistas only, preserving him merely for good luck, because he was the first that saluted him king. He took care likewise to have Caranus slain, who was his step-mother's son, and might be his competitor for the kingdom. In the beginning of his reign he reduced several nations that had revolted, and quelled some seditions in the first bud. Encouraged by the success of these proceedings, he came into Greece with all expedition, and, after his father's example, summoned the deputies of all the states to meet at Corinth in a general council, in which he was chosen generalissimo in his room. Then he carried on the Persian war begun by his father; but, as he was making preparations for it, news is brought him, that the Thebans and Athenians had revolted from him to the Persians; and that the author of this revolt was one Demosthenes, whom the Persians had bribed with a great sum of money, and who had affirmed, in a public assembly of the people, that all the army of the Macedonians, with their king, had been cut off by the Triballi; to confirm the truth of which, he had produced his author before them, who said, that he had been wounded in that battle wherein the king fell. By this report the minds of almost all the cities were changed, and the garisons of the Macedonians besieged. To oppose these commotions he came upon Greece with an army provided and in good order, with so much speed, that they scarce believed they saw him, whom they had not before heard was coming against them.

CHAP. III. In his march he had encouraged the Thessalians to be quiet, and put them in mind of the kindnesses of his father Philip, and of his mother's alliance with them by the family of the *Æacidæ*. The Thessalians liking these things greatly, he had been, like his father, made captain general of the whole nation,

nation, and they had given him the disposal of all their customs and revenues ; but the Athenians, as they had first revolted, so they were the first that repented of it, turning their contempt of an enemy into the highest admiration of him ; and extolling the youth of Alexander, which they before despised, above the conduct of old generals ; wherefore, sending ambassadors to him, they beg a stop may be put to the war. And he, having heard and chid the ambassadors, dropt the prosecution of the war. Then he turns his army towards Thebes, intending to shew the same indulgence if he met with the same penitence. But the Thebans had recourse, not to prayers, but to arms ; wherefore being conquered, they suffered all the most severe punishments of a miserable captivity. When it was debated, in a council of war, whether the city should be destroyed, the Phocensians, Plateans, Thespians, and Orchomenians, Alexander's allies, and sharers of his victory, represented the destruction of their city, and the cruelty of the Thebans, upbraiding them, not only with their present siding with the Persians, but likewise with their former favouring of that interest, to the prejudice of the common liberty of Greece ; adding, that they were the universal hatred of all people, as was plain from hence, that all the Greeks had engaged themselves by oath to demolish Thebes when they had overcome the Persians. They likewise add accounts of their former villanies, which had filled all the theatres for many ages, that they might be odious, not only for their present perfidy, but their ancient infamy.

CHAP. IV. Then Cleades, one of the prisoners having liberty given him to speak, alledged, in their vindication, that they had not revolted from the king who, they heard, was dead, but only from the king's heirs ; that whatever fault they had committed in the matter was owing to their credulity, not to their perfidiousness, for which, however, they had already suffered some punishment ; the flower of all their youth being destroyed, there now remained but a company of old men and women as innocent as weak ; and that these had been so persecuted with various indignities.

that they had never suffered any thing so dismal before ; and that he did not now intercede for his countrymen, so few of them being left, but for the innocent soil of his country, and for a city, which had not only produced men, but gods. Then he endeavoured to gain ground upon the king by means of his superstitious regard to Hercules, who had been born amongst them, and from whom the family of the *Æacidæ* was descended ; and, recalling to his mind that his father had passed his youth at Thebes, he begs him to spare the city which adored his ancestors as gods, some of whom being born, and some educated among them, it had seen sustain the characters of royal majesty. But anger was more powerful than prayers ; so that the city was demolished, the lands divided amongst the conquerors, and the prisoners publicly exposed to sale at a valuation, not according to the interest of the buyers, but the hatred of their enemies. This appeared a piteous case to the Athenians ; wherefore they opened their gates for the reception of the banished Thebans, contrary to the king's orders ; which Alexander took so ill, that, upon their begging peace for a second time, he openly protested that he would grant it upon no other terms, but that their orators and generals, thro' confidence in whom they had so often rebelled, should be delivered up to him. And the Athenians being ready to do it, to avoid a war, the matter ended in this, that, keeping their orators, their general should be banished ; who immediately going over to Darius, made no inconsiderable accession of strength to the Persians.

CHAP. V. Upon his going to the Persian war, he killed all his step mother's relations whom Philip had advanced to any high trust or dignity. But neither did he spare his own relations, who seemed fit to reign, lest any occasion of sedition should remain in Macedonia while he was at a distance. He took too the tributary princes of eminent parts to the war with him, and left the more inactive at home for the defence of his territories. Then, having drawn his army together, he puts them on shipboard, and seeing Asia from hence, being inflamed with an incredible ardor of mind, he

erected altars to the twelve gods, in order to put up his supplications for success in this war. He divides all his estate he had in Macedonia and Europe amongst his friends, declaring that Asia was sufficient for him. Before any ship set sail, he offers sacrifices, praying for victory in that war, wherein he had been chosen the avenger of Greece, that had been so often invaded by the Persians; who, he said, had had an empire long enough, and were now ripe, and therefore ought to give way to others that would behave themselves better. The expectations of his army were as great as those of the king; for all, forgetting their wives and children, and the distance of the expedition from home, looked upon the Persian gold, and all the wealth of the East, as their sure booty; nor did they think of the war, and the dangers attending it, but of riches only. When they were arrived at the continent, Alexander first of all threw a dart into the enemy's country, and leaped from the ship like one dancing; and then he offered sacrifice, praying that these countries would freely receive him for their king. He likewise sacrificed at Ilium, at the tombs of those heroes that fell in the Trojan war.

CHAP. VI. After that, marching against the enemy, he kept his soldiers from ravaging Asia, declaring that they ought to spare their own, and not destroy what they came to take possession of. His army consisted of thirty two thousand foot, and five hundred horse, and a hundred and eighty two ships. It is difficult to determine, whether it is more wonderful that he should have conquered the whole world with this so small an army, or that he should have dared to attempt it. When he levied his army for so perilous a war, he did not choose young, robust fellows, nor those in the prime of their life, but veterans, most of them such as were past the usual time of service, who had fought under his father and uncles; so that one would have thought, to see them, that he had selected, not soldiers, but masters of the art of war. None under sixty years of age led up companies; so that if you had seen the general's quarters, you would have said you saw the senate

nate of some ancient republic. Wherefore no body thought of flight, but of victory ; nor was any one's trust in his feet, but in his arms. On the other hand Darius, king of the Persians, in a vain confidence of his strength, had no recourse to stratagem ; affirming to his ministers, that clandestine counsels were proper measures for stealing a victory ; and that he would not drive the enemy from his frontiers, but receive them into the heart of his kingdom ; thinking it more glorious to beat war out of his country, than to deny it entrance. Wherefore the first engagement was in the plains of Adraftia. The Persian army consisted of six thousand men, which being conquered, no less by the conduct of Alexander, than the bravery of the Macedonians, soon turned their backs. There was therefore a great slaughter of the Persians. There fell of Alexander's army nine foot soldiers, and a hundred and twenty horse, whom the king buried sumptuously for an example to the rest. He honoured them with equestrian statues, and granted large privileges to their relations. After this victory the greater part of Asia revolted to him. He had several engagements with Darius's lieutenants, whom he overcame, not so much by his arms, as the terror of his name.

CH A P. VII. While these things were in agitation, information is brought to him, by a certain captive, that a plot was formed against him by Alexander Lyncistas, son-in-law of Antipater, whom he had made governor of Macedonia. For which reason, fearing, that if he put him to death, it might occasion some commotion in Macedonia, he only confined him in chains. After this he marches towards a city called Gordium, which is situated betwixt the greater and the lesser Phrygia. A desire of taking which city had seized him, not so much for the sake of plunder, as because he had heard the yoke of the Gordian cart was laid up in that city in the temple of Jupiter, the knot of which if any one could loose, that person, according to ancient predictions, should reign over all Asia. The cause and origin of this affair is this : As Gordius was ploughing in the fields hereabouts, birds of every kind

began to fly about him. Upon going to consult the augurs of a neighbouring city concerning this event, he met in the gate a virgin of extraordinary beauty, and asked her which of the augurs he should address himself to. She, understanding the reason of his applying to them, and having gained some knowledge of the art from her parents, intreated, that a kingdom was pretended for him, and offered herself to be partner of his bed and hopes. So happy a match seemed to be the principal felicity of a kingdom. After the marriage there arose a sedition amongst the Phrygians, who consulted the oracle how they should put an end to the difference; and it was answered, that a king was necessary to terminate it. Upon enquiring again about the person of their king, they are ordered to take him for their king whom they should find upon their return riding to the temple of Jupiter in a cart. Gordias was the person whom they met, and accordingly they made him king. He considered the cart in which he was when the crown was offered to him, to royal majesty, and laid it up in the temple of Jupiter. After him his son Midas reigned, who, being instructed by Orpheus in the holy mysteries, filled all Phrygia with religious rites, which conduced more to his safety all his life long than arms. Wherefore Alexander, after he had taken the city, when he came in to the temple of Jupiter, called for the yoke of the Gordian cart; which being produced, when he could not find the heads of the cords, which were hidden by the knots, used freedom with the oracle, and cut the cord afunder with his sword, by which means he found out the covered knots.

CHAP. VIII. While he was thus employed, intelligence was brought to him, that Darius was coming up with a vast army. Wherefore, fearing the straits, he marches his army over mount Taurus with great expedition, in which march he travelled five hundred furlongs without making a halt. When he was come to Tarsus, being charmed with the pleasantness of the river Cydnus, that runs through the middle of the city, he threw off his armour, and all covered with dust

dust and sweat as he was, plunged into the cold stream. On a sudden so great a numbness seized all his nerves, that his voice being stopped, there was not the least hope of remedy, and the danger admitted of no delay. There was one of his physicians, named Philip, who alone promised a cure; but a letter, that had come from Parmenio then in Cappadocia, who, knowing nothing of Alexander's illness, had therein cautioned him to beware of his doctor Philip, because he was corrupted by Darius with a great sum of money, rendered him suspected. However Alexander thought it safer to trust his physician, tho' his integrity was doubtful, than risk a distemper that would assuredly dispatch him. So he took the potion from his hands, but, at the same time, delivered the letter to him; and so, as he drank it, kept his eyes upon the doctor's countenance while he read. When he saw him undisturbed, he became more chearful, and in four days after was perfectly well.

CHAP. IX. In the mean time Darius takes the field with four hundred thousand foot, and a hundred thousand horse. This vast number not a little startled Alexander, when he considered his own small army. But he sometimes reflected what great things he had done with that handful of men, and what great nations he had conquered; wherefore, as his hopes overcame his fears, thinking it was dangerous to delay the battle, lest despair should grow upon his men, riding about his troops, he harangued those of every nation in a different language. He fired the Thracians and Illyrians, by shewing them the wealth and riches of the enemy; the Greeks, by putting them in mind of their ancient wars, and their inveterate hatred of the Persians. He represented to the Macedonians one while their conquest of Europe, and another while their desire of Asia, and glories that a match equal to them had not been found in the whole world. Moreover he said, this battle would put an end to all their fatigues, and accomplish their glory. And, in the mean time, he ordered his army once and again to halt, that they might, by these stops, have occasion to accustom their

eyes to the sight of so numerous an enemy. Neither was Darius wanting on his part to dispose his forces into the most advantageous order; for, without leaving it to his commanders, he went about in person encouraging every one, by putting them in mind of the ancient glory of the Persians, and of the perpetual empire given them by the gods. After this a battle was fought with great vigour and resolution. In it both kings were wounded. The battle was doubtful till Darius fled. Then ensued a terrible slaughter of the Persians, who lost sixty one thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, and forty thousand were taken prisoners. There fell of the Macedonians a hundred and thirty three foot, and a hundred and fifty horse. A vast booty of gold and other wealth was found in the camp of the Persians. Amongst the prisoners were the mother, and the wife, who was also the sister of Darius, and his two daughters. When Alexander came to see, and comfort them, at the sight of armed men they flung themselves into one another's arms, and set up a wailing, as if they were to die immediately. Then, falling at the feet of Alexander, they beg not life, but a delay of death, till they should bury the body of Darius. Alexander, being much moved by the ladies dutiful regard to the memory of Darius, both told them that Darius was yet alive, and removed all their apprehensions of death; and ordered them to be treated as queens, and bid the daughters expect husbands not below the dignity of their father.

C H A P. X. After this, taking a view of the opulence and magnificent furniture of Darius, he was struck with admiration of them. And then first of all did he begin to take delight in the luxury and magnificence of entertainments. Then also it was that he fell in love with Barsene his captive, by whom he had afterwards a son he called Hercules. But, calling to mind that Darius was yet alive, he dispatched Parmenio to seize on the Persian fleet, and sent some others of his friends to take in the cities of Asia, which immediately, upon the news of this great victory, surrendered to the conqueror; their governors, who had been placed

ced over them by Darius, giving themselves up, with vast sums of gold. Then he marched into Syria, where several kings of the East, with their garlands, the badges of those who sue for peace, upon their heads, met him. Of these, according to their respective merits, some he received into his friendship, and others he turned out of their kingdoms, and put new ones in their places. Abdalonimus was remarkable above the rest, being made king of Sidonia by Alexander. This man Alexander found living miserably, all his business being either to draw water, or water gardens, when he made him king, passing by the nobles in contempt, lest they should ascribe their promotion to the merit of their birth, and not to the free donation of the giver. When the city of the Tyrians sent, by ambassadors, to Alexander a crown of gold, of very great weight, to congratulate him, he received their present very kindly, and told them, that he intended to make them a visit at Tyre, that he might perform his vows to Hercules. When the ambassadors replied, that he might do that much better in the old town, and in the more ancient temple, he was so incensed against them for their entreaties, that he would not come within their new city, that he threatened destruction to it. And, his army being immediately brought to the island, he met with a warm reception from the Tyrians, who confided in their having succours from Carthage. For the example of Dido, who, having built Carthage, had obtained the empire of the third part of the world, encouraged them, thinking it would be a disgrace to them, if their women shewed more courage in the acquiring of dominion, than they in defending their liberty. Wherefore all the people of an age unfit for war were removed to Carthage, and they sent immediately for assistance: they were, however, not long after, surprized by treachery.

CHAP. XI. After that, Alexander got Rhodes, Egypt, and Cilicia, without striking a stroke. And then he goes to consult Jupiter Hammon, both about future events, and his original. For his mother Olympias had confessed to her husband Philip, that she

had conceived Alexander, not by him, but by a serpent of a prodigious size. In fine, Philip had been heard declare, towards the latter end of his life, openly, that he was none of his son. For which cause he had divorced Olympias, as plainly guilty of adultery. Wherefore Alexander, being desirous to acquire the reputation of a divine extraction, and, at the same time, to deliver his mother from infamy, instructs the priests, by messengers he sent before him on purpose, what answer he would have them give. The priests, the moment he entered the temple, salute him as the son of Hammon. He, being pleased with the adoption of the god, gives orders that Jupiter Hammon should be esteemed his father. Then he enquired whether he had been revenged upon all the murderers of his father? Answer is made, that his father could not be slain, or die; but that the revenge of Philip's death was fully accomplished. Upon putting a third question, he was answered, that victory in all his wars, and the empire of the world was given him. His attendants too were enjoined to adore Alexander the Great as a god, and not as a king. Upon which his insolence grew insupportable, and his mind was strangely elated; that complaisance which he had imbibed from his Greek teachers, and the customs of the Macedonians, being quite laid aside. Returning from Hammon he built Alexandria, and settling a colony there, made it the metropolis of all Egypt.

C H A P. XII. After Darius had fled to Babylon, he intreats Alexander to give him leave to redeem his prisoners, and promises him a great sum of money for their ransom: but Alexander demanded his whole kingdom, and not money, as the price of his prisoners. Some time after, another letter from Darius was given to Alexander; in which one of his daughters was offered him in marriage, and a share of his kingdom: but Alexander writ him word, that he offered nothing but what was his own, and ordered him to come as a suppliant, and leave him to dispose of his kingdom as he pleased. Then all hopes of peace being lost, Darius renews the war, and goes to meet Alexander with
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four hundred thousand foot, and a hundred thousand horse. News is brought him on his march, that his wife had died of a milcarriage; and that Alexander lamented her death, and kindly assisted at her funeral: and had done all this, not out of love, but humanity; for Alexander had only seen her once, whereas he comforted his mother and little daughters frequently. Then Darius looked upon himself as truly overcome, when his enemy had outdone him in kindness too, after so many battles; and declared it was agreeable to him, since he could not conquer, to have been conquered by such a victor. For this reason he writ to him the third time, thanking him for his having done nothing like an enemy to his family. Then he offers him a greater part of his kingdom, as far as the Euphrates, and another daughter in marriage, and thirty thousand talents for the other prisoners. To all this Alexander replied, that it was needless for an enemy to give thanks, and that he had done nothing with a view to flatter his enemy, or to soften him through any distrust of the events of war, however doubtful they are, and procure himself better terms of peace; but from a greatness of soul, by which he had been taught to contend against the forces of his enemies, and not their calamities; and he adds a promise to treat Darius in the same generous manner, if he would be content to be his friend, not his equal: but as the world could not be governed by two sons, so neither could the globe of the earth bear two rival emperors, with tranquillity and security; that therefore he should either prepare himself for complying forthwith, or resolve to decide the matter to morrow by the sword; and yet he ought not to flatter himself with any other victory, than he had already experienced.

C H A P. XIII. The following day, the armies were drawn into the field, and Alexander, wearied with care, fell into a sound sleep on a sudden, before the battle. When the king alone was wanting, in order to begin the fight, he could hardly be waken'd by Parmenio; and those about him enquiring how he, who indulged himself so little in sleep at other times, came to sleep so heartily amidst so much danger. He answer'd,

he was delivered from a great concern, and that his sleep was occasioned by his sudden security ; for now he could engage with all the forces of Darius ; whereas he would have found a very tedious war, in case the Persians had divided their troops. Before the battle began, both armies could have a view one of the other. The Macedonians admired the great numbers of the Persians, their huge bodies, and the beauty of their armour. The Persians were amazed that so many thousands of their men had been overthrown by so few. But neither did the kings neglect to ride about their armies. Darius said, that scarce a single enemy would fall to the share of ten of his troops, if a division were made. Alexander encouraged the Macedonians not to be startled at the great number of their enemies, nor the bigness of their bodies, or the strangeness of their complexion. He bids them only remember, that they fought now a third time with the same men, and that they should not think them better by their flight, since they brought back into the field with them the sad remembrance of their former defeats, and of so much blood spilt in the other two battles ; adding, that Darius had a greater number of mortals, but he of men. He encourages them to despise that army glittering with gold and silver, in which there was more plunder than danger, since victory was the purchase not of comely arms, but of a brave sword.

CHAP. XIV. After this, both armies joined battle. The Macedonians rushed upon the sword with contempt of an enemy that had been so often conquer'd by them. On the other hand, the Persians chose rather to die than to be conquered : seldom hath so much blood been spilt. When Darius saw his army broken, he would willingly have died upon the spot, but was forced by those about him to fly. And some advising him to order the bridge over the Cydnus to be broken down, in order to stop the passage of the enemy, he answered, he would not provide for his own safety at the expence of exposing so many thousands of his followers, for flight ought to be open to others as well as to himself. All this time Alexander attempted the
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most dangerous enterprizes; and where he saw the enemy thickest, and fighting most desperately, there he rushed, as if he had a mind the dangers should be to him, and not to his soldiers. In this battle he gained the whole empire of Asia, in the fifth year of his accession to the crown. And so considerable was the advantage of it, that afterwards none dared to rebel; and the Persians, after having enjoy'd the empire of the universe so long, patiently submitted to the yoke of servitude. Having refreshed and rewarded his soldiers, he spent thirty four days successively, in taking an account of the plunder. He found after this, in the city of Susa, four thousand talents. He likewise took Persepolis, the capital of the Persian empire, a city of long standing and great renown, and loaded with the spoils of the world, which now first appeared at its destruction. During these transactions, about eight hundred Greeks meet Alexander, who had undergone severe punishments in their captivity, having their bodies sadly mangled, begging, that as he had delivered Greece, so he would deliver them also from the cruelty of their enemies. But liberty being granted them to return home, they rather chose to receive lands there, lest instead of carrying home joy to their parents, they should rather give them pain, by shewing them such a dismal sight as they were.

CHAP. XV. In the mean time, Darius, to curry favour with the conqueror, is bound by his relations with golden fetters and chains, in a Parthian village called Thara: the immortal gods so ordering it, as I think, that the kingdom of the Persians should end in the country of those who were to succeed him in the empire. Alexander making a speedy march, came up the next day; and found that Darius had been carried away from thence in the night, in a cover'd vehicle: wherefore commanding his army to follow, he pursues the flying king with seven thousand horse, and fights many dangerous battles in this march. Then advancing for several miles, and not being able to find any account of Darius; upon his giving leave to the horses to refresh themselves, one of the soldiers going to the
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nearest spring, found Darius in a waggon, full of wounds, but yet breathing; who, one of the prisoners being brought to him, when he found him by his tongue to be his countryman, said, that it was some comfort to him under his present misfortunes, that he could speak to one who understood his language, and so should not spend his last breath in vain. He desired him to tell Alexander, that he died without having performed any acts of kindness towards him, but a debtor to him for the greatest; for he had found his behaviour towards his mother and child, like that of a generous prince, not of an enemy: that he had been much happier in his enemy than in his relations; because his mother and children had their lives given them by the former, whereas his kinsmen, to whom he had given both life and kingdoms, had taken away his; and that he would have any return from them for these obligations he (the conqueror) pleased: that as for himself, he gave him all the grateful requital a dying man could. He prayed the celestial and infernal gods, and the gods the guardians of kings, that the dominion of all the world might fall to him. He desired that he would grant him the favour of a decent rather than an expensive burial. As to what regarded his revenge, it was not his cause alone, but matter of example, and therefore the common cause of all kings; it would consequently be dangerous and indecent for him to neglect it, since he was obliged, both in point of justice and interest, to prosecute it: for this purpose he gave his right hand to be carried to Alexander, the only pledge of royal faith. Then stretching out his hand, he expired. These things being told to Alexander, he bewailed with tears a death so unworthy of such a height of majesty; and commanded his corpse to be interred after the manner of kings, and his relicks to be deposited in the tombs of his ancestors.

BOOK XII.

A SUMMARY of the CHAPTERS.

- I. *The Grecians go to war in Alexander's absence.*
- II. *Alexander, king of Epire, raises disturbances in Italy, and falls in the battle. The Scythians cut off Alexander's lieutenant and his army.*
- III. *Alexander's dissimulation and ambition; his intrigue with Thalestris; his luxury and extravagance.*
- IV. *How he kept the Macedonians to their allegiance, when they began to mutiny.*
- V. *He draws his sword upon his domesticks. Orders Bessus, the murderer of Darius, to be put to death.*
- VI. *Kills Clytus in a drunken fit, and afterwards repents of it.*
- VII. *Returning to his temper, he treats his prudent counsellors cruelly. He marches towards the east, to extend the boundaries of his empire. He is pleased to trace the footsteps of Bacchus, and endeavours to outdo the exploits of Hercules.*
- VIII. *He overcomes Porus, and subdues many nations, and then seemed disposed to give rest to his army.*
- IX. *He returns to war, and was in great danger of his life, in a city of the Sugambrians.*
- X. *Being saved by his friends, he views the ocean; fixes the bounds of his empire, kills some of his lieutenants, and thinks of marrying.*
- XI. *His liberality, munificence, and severity.*
- XII. *Suppresses another mutiny. Hephæstion's death and burial.*
- XIII. *When ambassadors from the west came to wait upon him, he falls dangerously ill in his way to Babylon.*
- XIV. *He is poisoned by the arts of Antipater.*
- XV. *The last behaviour and words of Alexander.*
- XVI. *His Eloge.*

CHAP. I.

Alexander spared no expence in burying the soldiers that fell in pursuing Darius, and distributed thirteen thousand talents among the rest that attended him

in that expedition. The greater part of the horses were lost by the heat, and those that survived were unfit for service. All the money, amounting to a hundred and ninety thousand talents, was carried to Ecbatana, and Parmenio entrusted with the care of it. In the mean while, a letter from Antipater in Macedonia was delivered to him, giving him an account of the war of Agis king of Sparta in Greece, of Alexander king of Epire in Italy, and of Zopyrion his deputy in Scythia; with which news he was variously affected. However, the death of those two kings, who were his rivals, gave him more joy than the loss of his army under Zopyrion sorrow: for after Alexander's departure, almost all Greece had taken up arms, as an opportunity of recovering their liberty; following therein the influence of the Lacedemonians, who alone had refused with scorn the peace offered by Philip and Alexander, and rejected their terms. Agis, king of the Lacedemonians, commanded in chief in this war; but Antipater having drawn his army together, soon suppressed this commotion in its very infancy; yet the slaughter was great on both sides. King Agis, when he saw his men turning their backs, dismissed his guards; and that he might not seem inferior to Alexander in courage, made so terrible a havock among the enemy, that he sometimes drove whole troops before him: and though he was overpower'd at last by numbers, yet he excell'd his conquerors in glory.

C H A P. II. As for Alexander, the king of Epire, being invited into Italy by the Tarentines, who desired his assistance against the Bactrians, he went into this expedition with as much eagerness, as if, in a division of the world, the east had fallen by lot to Alexander, his sister Olympias's son, and the west to himself; and because he was not unlikely to have as great matter of action in Italy, Africa, and Sicilly, as the other had in Asia, and among the Persians. But this was not the sole motive; for what surprized him not a little, was that as the oracle of Delphos had foretold Alexander the Great of a plot against him in Macedonia, so he had been advised by Jupiter of Dodona, to avoid the
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city Pandosia, and the river Acherusius, both which being in Epire, and he ignorant that the same were in Italy also, he the more readily engaged in this foreign expedition, to avoid the danger of the oracle. Wherefore, after he was come into Italy, his first war was with the Apulians: but when he knew the fate of their city, he soon after concluded a peace and an alliance with their king. For at that time, the Appulians had the city Brundisium, which was built by the Ætoli-ans, under the conduct of Diomedes, who had so glorified himself by his brave actions at the siege of Troy. But being beat out of it by the Appulians, the oracle told them, upon their consulting it, that they should possess for ever the place which they were endeavouring to recover. Wherefore they had demanded, by ambassadors, the restitution of their city; otherwise, threatening to declare war against them: but when the oracle was known to the Appulians, they buried the ambassadors in their city, who by this means were like to have their perpetual abode there. And so having consulted the oracle, they continued for a long time masters of the place. When Alexander was inform'd of this, out of a regard to the ancient oracles, he waved the war against the Appulians. He likewise carried on a war with the Brutians and Lucanians, and took many cities. He then likewise made a league with the Messapontinians, and the Pediculans, and the Romans: but the Brutians and Lucanians being reinforced by some troops of their neighbours, renewed the war more briskly; in which the king was slain nigh the city Pandosia and the river Acheron; not knowing the fatal place 'till he was dying, and then he understood that the dangerous death foretold him by the oracle, was not to come to him in his own country, for fear of which he had abandon'd it. His body the Thurians ransom'd at the publick charge, and buried. While these things were going on in Italy, Zopyrion, who had been left governor of Pontus by Alexander the Great, thinking he should pass for an idle person, if he did nothing, getting an army of thirty thousand men together, made war upon the Scythians; and being cut off

off with all his forces, suffer'd due punishment for invading that innocent nation.

CHAP. III. When these things were told to Alexander in Parthia, counterfeiting grief, because Alexander was his kinsman, he commanded his army to mourn for three days. Then all, as if the war had been ended, pleasing themselves with the hopes of returning into their country, and embracing their wives and children, he assembled his army. There he tells them, that their former victories would serve to little purpose, if the oriental barbarians were left in quiet possession of their country; that it was not the person, but the kingdom of Darius that he had in his view; and that those who had revolted from under his government ought to be invaded. Their courage being revived by this speech, he subdued Hyrcania, and the Mardians. Here Thalestris, or Mintha, queen of the Amazons, came to meet him; who had travell'd, with three hundred women in her retinue twenty five days, through very populous nations, in order to have issue by him; the sight and arrival of whom much surprized all people, both because of the particularity of her dress for a woman, and because of the strange demand she came to make. The king allowed himself a cessation from business thirteen days on this account; and when she thought herself pregnant, she took her leave. After this, Alexander took the habit of the kings of Persia, and the Diadem, not used before by the Macedonian kings; as if he had intended to comply with the customs of those people whom he had conquered: and lest this innovation should be look'd upon with invidious eyes, if he were singular in it, he commanded his friends to wear the long purple vest, embroidered with gold. And that he might imitate the luxury too as well as the dress of the Persians, he divided his nights by turns, among companies of concubines of eminent beauty and birth. To this he adds a prodigious expence of entertainments, that his luxury might not appear scanty and maim: and he adorn'd these feasts with shows, according to the regal magnificence of the Persians; forgetting that such vast wealth used to be lost, and not acquired by such methods.

CHAP.

CH A P. IV. During this, there was a general indignation throughout the camp, that he had so far degenerated from his father Philip, that he had abjured the very name of his country, and follow'd these manners and customs of the Persians, to which his conquest of them was solely owing. But that he might not appear to be the only person who was corrupted by the vices of those he had conquer'd by his arms, he permitted his soldiers to marry any of the captives they liked; imagining they would have the less desire to return to their own country, if they had some resemblance of a house and family in their camp; and at the same time, that the charms of their wives would render the fatigues of war less grievous: and that Macedonia would be the less exhausted by recruits, if the young sons should succeed their veteran fathers, and serve in the ramparts, within which they were born; thinking they, in all likelihood, would prove the more courageous, if they had not only served their apprenticeship in war, but passed their infancy in camps. This custom was kept up by Alexander's successors; wherefore a maintenance was provided for the boys, and rewards given to the fathers, proportion'd to the number of their children. If the fathers happen'd to be slain, the orphans succeeded to their pay, whose very childhood was a sort of military life, employ'd in various expeditions; so being harden'd from their cradles by dangers and fatigues, they were an invincible army: nor did they look upon the camp any otherwise than as their country, nor on a battle as any thing but the fore-runner of victory. This generation had the name of Epigoni. Afterwards, when the Parthians were reduced, Andragoras, a noble Persian, was made their governor, from whom the kings of the Parthians derived their extraction.

CH A P. V. In the mean time Alexander began to vent his cruel disposition upon his subjects, not like a king, but an enemy. He was, above all, incensed that the soldiers reflected upon him in their conversation for having subverted the discipline of his father Philip, and abolished the customs of his own country. For these crimes, Parmenio, an elderly person, and the
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next in dignity to the king, with his son Philotas, were put to death, both being first put to the torture. Wherefore all people began to murmur throughout the camp, bewailing the hard fate of this old gentleman and his son; and sometimes would say, that they could not hope for better treatment themselves. When Alexander heard this, fearing lest this character of him should spread into Macedonia, and the glory of his victories should be blackened by his cruelty, he gave out, that he would send some of his friends into Greece to be the messengers of his success. He advises the soldiers to write to their friends, since they would but seldom have an opportunity, by reason of the remoter distance to which war might carry them. He commanded the packets of letters to be privately brought to him, from which having learned what every one thought of him, he put them all who had expressed themselves somewhat freely into one regiment with an intention either to destroy them, or to send them into colonies in the most distant parts of the world. After this he subdued the Dracæ, the Evergetæ, the Parymæ, the Parapammenians, Adaspians and other nations, inhabiting along the foot of mount Caucasus. In the mean time Bessus, formerly a great confident of Darius, is brought bound to him, who has not only betrayed his king, but likewise killed him. Him, to be punished for his perfidy, he delivered over to Darius's brother, not so much considering Darius as his enemy, as the friend of him who had murdered him. And that he might leave the memory of his name behind him in these parts, he built the city of Alexandria upon the river Tanais, finishing a wall about it of six miles in compass in seventeen days, and transplanting thither the inhabitants of these cities which had been founded by Cyrus. He likewise built twelve cities in the country of the Bactrians and Sogdians, sending into them all whom he had found mutinous in his army.

C H A P. VI. After this, upon a solemn day, he invites all his friends to a feast, where, some discourse happening to be started among them, when drunk, concern

cerning the glorious things done by Philip, he began to extol the greatness of his own exploits to the heavens, the major part of the company agreeing to what he said. Wherefore when Clitus, one of the old men, confiding in his master's friendship, of which none had a greater share, defended the memory of Philip, and praised his exploits, he so provoked the king, that he killed him in the entertainment with a weapon taken from one of his guards. After this murder, he, in a triumphing manner, upbraided the dead man with his defending Philip, and commending his father's discipline. But, after murder had fatiated his anger, and consideration succeeded to Passion, reflecting one while on the person of the slain, another while on the occasion of his killing him, he became sorry for the deed. For he considered that he had heard the praises of his father with more resentment than he ought to have shewn against aspersions cast upon his memory. He was vexed that he should have killed an old friend who was innocent, and that in the midst of a feast and public rejoicing. Wherefore, now transported by grief to the same degree of vehemence, as before by his anger, he resolved to die. In the first place, bursting out into tears, he embraced the dead man, handled his wounds, and confessed his madness to him, as if he had heard him; and then, snatching up a weapon, points it against himself, and would have executed his purpose, had not his friends interposed. This resolution of dying continued too for some days following. The remembrance of his nurse, Clitus's sister, wounded him yet deeper; being ashamed, and cut to the heart, tho' she was absent, that he should have requited her so ingratefully for all the trouble and pains she had taken with him in his childhood. Then he considered what discourse he had occasioned in the army, and amongst the conquered nations, and what hatred of him he had created; how odious and horrible he had rendered himself to the rest of his friends; and how dismal and melancholy he had made his entertainment, being not more formidable in arms, and at the head of an army, than at a feast. Then Parmenio

menio and Philotas, then his kinsman Amyntas, then his step-mother and brothers, with whose blood he had stained his hands ; then Attalus, Eurylochus, Pausanias, and the rest of the grandees of Macedonia, whom he had taken off, returned to his guilty thoughts. For this reason he fasted four days, till he was prevailed upon by the prayers of the whole army, begging him not to lament the death of one man in such a manner as to ruin them all ; nor, after he had led them into the remotest parts of the country of the barbarians, to leave them amongst nations that were enemies to them and exasperated by war. The intreaties of Callisthenes the philosopher, who was intimate with him having been his fellow disciple under Aristotle, and sent for by himself to write his history, had great weight with him ; wherefore, his mind being reconciled to business, he prosecuted the war, and accepted the submission of the Chorasmians and Dahæ.

C H A P. VII. After this he orders himself, not to be saluted, but adored, after the Persian manner which particular piece of Persian royal pride he had not adventured upon at first, lest he should render himself hateful by assuming all of it at once. Callisthenes was the most resolute of all who made opposition to this arrogance, which was the ruin of him, and of many great men of the Macedonians ; for they were all put to death, under the pretence of a plot. However, the custom of saluting their king was retained among the Macedonians, and adoration exploded. After this he marches for India, that his empire might be bounded by the ocean, and the most distant eastern regions ; and, to suit the pomp of his army to the glory of so noble an expedition, he adorned the arms of his soldiers, and the trappings of their horses, with silver, and called his men *Argyraspides*, from their silver shields. When he arrived at the city of Nyssa, the citizens making no resistance, as relying upon the veneration paid to Bacchus their founder, he ordered it to be spared ; rejoicing that he had not only followed the god in his military achievements, but in his travels. Then he led his army to view the sacred mountain.

in. as regularly adorned with those goods of nature, the vine and ivy, as if it had been dressed by the art of men, and all the skill and industry of gardeners. At his army, when they came to the mount, being agitated by a sudden motion of mind into the bowlings sacred to the god, run up and down, to the great surprize of the king, in a frantic manner, without any hurt; that he might understand, that by sparing the town, he had not consulted its interest so much, as that of his own army. From thence he marched to the Dædalian mountains, and the kingdom of queen Cleofis, who, after having surrendered her kingdom to him, redeemed it again from him by lying with him, recovering that by her charms, which she could not hope to save by her bravery; and she named the son she had by him Alexander, who afterwards got the kingdom of the Indians. Queen Cleofis, for prostituting her chastity, was, from that time, called by the Indians the royal strumpet. Having over-run India, he came at last to a rock, as stupenduous for its height, as for the difficulty of its ascent, to which vast multitudes had fled, and learned that Hercules had been hindered by an earthquake from taking it. Being therefore ambitious to outdo the actions of Hercules, he made himself master of it with much fatigue and danger, and received all the adjacent nations into his obedience.

CHAP. VIII. There was one of the kings of India, Porus by name, equally remarkable for his strength of body and fortitude of mind, who, having heard of Alexander's fame, prepared to give him a warm reception. Wherefore, when the battle began, he orders his army to attack the Macedonians vigorously. He demands their king for himself, challenging him to a single combat; nor did Alexander delay to fight him; but, his horse being wounded in the first encounter, he fell headlong to the ground, and was taken up and saved by his guards. Porus was taken all over wounds; but he was in such concern for his defeat, that tho' the enemy gave him quarter, he would neither take any refreshment, nor suffer his wounds to be

be dressed ; nay, he could hardly be prevailed upon to live. Alexander, in respect to his bravery, sent him back safe into his kingdom. Here he built two cities, one of which he called Nicæa, and the other, from the name of his horse, Bucephale. After this he conquered the Arestæ, the Gesteans, the Præsidæ, and the Gangaridæ, defeated their armies, and reduced them under his subjection. When he came up to the Cypriotes, where the enemy waited for him with two hundred thousand horse, the whole army being no less tired with the number of their victories, than the toils of war, implored him with tears, that he would at last make an end of the war, and think of returning home to his country, and remember the age of his soldiers, which would hardly now afford them time to get home. One shewed his hoary hairs, another his wounds, another his body quite worn out with years, another his scars with which he was equally deformed and exhausted ; that they alone had gone through the service of two kings, Philip, and Alexander, without intermission. Now at last they begged that he would send their bones to the sepulchres of their fathers, since it was not their minds that failed them, but their years. As if he would not spare his soldiers, that he would at least spare himself, and not tire out his good fortune too much, by harassing it. Being moved by these reasonable requests, he orders a camp, more grand than usual, to be formed, as it were, for the conclusion of his conquests, by the works of which the enemy might be terrified, and an admiration of him be left to posterity. The soldiers never undertook any work without more alacrity ; wherefore, after having slaughtered the enemy, they returned to it with great joy.

CHAP. IX. After this Alexander marched to the river Acesines, down which he sailed to the ocean. There he received the submission of the Hiacenians and Sileans, whom Hercules planted there. Then he sailed to the Ambrians and Sugambrians, who received him with eighty thousand foot, and sixty thousand horse. But, defeating them, he led his army to the city ; and when he had observed from the wall, which

he himself first scaled, that this city was deserted by those who were to keep it out, he jumped down into it without any one of his guards. Wherefore, when the enemy saw him alone, they surrounded him, setting up a shout, to try if, by killing one man, they could put an end to the war of the world, and revenge the quarrel of so many conquered nations. Alexander defended himself no less vigorously, and fought alone against many thousands. It is truly incredible, that neither the multitude of the enemy, nor the thick showers of darts, nor the cries of those who attacked him, could in the least dismay him, and that he alone should have slaughtered so many thousands. But when he saw himself overpowered by numbers, he retreated to the trunk of a tree that stood near the wall; by the help of which having withstood the enemy for a long time; at last, his danger being known, his friends leap down to him, of whom many were slain, and the battle continued doubtful till the whole army, making a breach in the walls, came to his relief. In this battle he was wounded with an arrow under the breast, and tho' ready to swoon away with loss of blood, setting one knee on the ground, he fought till he had killed him by whom he had been wounded. The cure of this wound was more troublesome than the wound itself.

CHAP. X. But being restored to health, after it was despaired of, he sent Polyperchon with the army to Babylon; and he himself, with a select body, went aboard the fleet, and visited the coasts of the ocean. When he arrived before the city of king Antigonus, the inhabitants, hearing that he was not to be overcome by the sword, poisoned their darts, and, repelling their enemy from their walls with wounds doubly mortal, they kill a great many. Amongst the rest Ptolemy was wounded, and seemed a dying, when an herb was presented to the king in a vision for a remedy against poison; and this being taken in a potion, he was immediately cured. The greater part of the army was likewise cured by this remedy. After that, taking the city, and returning to his ships, he made

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oblations to the ocean, and prayed for a safe return into his own country ; and having, as it were, driven his chariot about the goal, and fixed the boundaries of his empire, as far as either the desert by land would suffer him to extend them, or the sea was navigable, he sailed up the mouth of the river Indus with the tide. There, in memory of his actions, he built the city Barce, and erected altars, leaving one of his friends governor of the parts of India upon the sea coasts. From thence designing to march by land, he was told, that the countries lying in the middle of his journey were dry ; and therefore he ordered wells to be dug in convenient places, where he found great store of fresh water, and so he returned to Babylon. Here many of the conquered nations accused their governors, whom Alexander, without any respect to former friendship, ordered to be put to death in the sight of the deputies sent to complain of them. After these things he married Statira, the daughter of king Darius ; and he likewise gave to the chiefs of the Macedonians the noblest virgins, chosen out of all the conquered countries, that his own crime might be alleviated, by bringing in so many to do it in common with him.

C H A P. XI. After this he assembled his army, and promises to pay all their debts at his own expence, that they might carry their plunder, and all the rewards they had received, home untouched. This was an extraordinary act of munificence, not only in respect of the sum, but the obliging manner of doing it : neither was it more gratefully received by the debtors than the creditors, because the demanding and the paying was equally troublesome to both. Twenty thousand talents were expended on this occasion. The veterans being discharged, he recruits the army with young soldiers. But those that were detained, murmuring at the departure of the veterans, demanded to be dismissed likewise, and desired that, not their years of life, but their years of service might be counted, thinking it but reasonable, that being listed together, they should be discharged together. Nor did they content themselves with intreaties, but gave ill language,

guage, bidding him carry on his wars by himself with his father Hammon, since he so much undervalued his soldiers. On the other hand, Alexander sometimes reprimanded, and sometimes gently admonished them, that they would not tarnish a glorious expedition by their mutinies. At last, when he could not prevail by speaking, he leaped unarmed from the tribunal into the armed assembly, to lay hands upon the authors of the sedition; and, no man daring to oppose him, he led thirteen of them, whom he had seized with his own hands, to punishment. So great patience of death did their fear of their king produce in them, of such resolution in exacting punishment had his practice in military discipline given him.

CHAP. XII. After this, he addresses himself to the auxiliary troops of the Persians in a body. He commended their stedfast fidelity to himself as well as to their former kings, and then took occasion to remind them of the favours he had done them; that he had never treated them as a conquered people, but as the companions of his victory; that he had complied with the usages of their nation, and not forced them to come into his, and that by alliances of marriage he had mingled the conquerors with the conquered. Now too he tells them, that he would trust the guard of his person, not only with the Macedonians, but with them likewise; and accordingly he selects a thousand young men from amongst them into the number of his guards. He likewise incorporates into his army a part of the auxiliaries that had been trained according to the discipline of the Macedonians; which the Macedonians resented greatly, complaining that the king had put enemies into their posts. Upon this they all go to the king with tears, begging him rather to satisfy his anger by punishing, than by affronting them. By which modesty they gained so much upon him, that he disbanded eleven thousand veteran soldiers more. Several old friends, as Polyperchon, Clitus, Gorgias, Polydamas, Amadas, Antigenes, he likewise dismissed. He named Craterus to conduct those who were discharged, and made him governor of Macedo-

nia in the room of Antipater, whom he ordered to come to him with a supply of recruits, and put into Craterus's place. Pay was allowed to those who were sent home, as if they had still been in the service. During these transactions his friend and favourite Ephestion, whose youth and beauty first introduced him to the king's favour, and afterwards, who, by his criminal compliances, became very dear to him, died. For him Alexander mourned in a manner far beneath the majesty of a king; and he raised a monument for him that cost twelve thousand talents, and ordered him to be worshipped as a god.

CHAP. XIII. News is brought him, as he was now on his return to Babylon, from the remotest parts of the ocean, that ambassadors from Carthage, and other states of Africa, nay, of Spain too, and Sicily, Gaul, Sardinia, and some likewise from Italy, were waiting for his arrival at Babylon. So had the terror of his name struck the world, that all nations flattered him as a king destined for them. Wherefore hastening to Babylon, to behold, as it were, an assembly of the states of the world, one of the magicians, warned him not to enter into that city, foretelling him that Babylon would prove fatal to him. For which reason, laying aside his design of going thither, he went to Borsippa, a city beyond the Euphrates, that had been for some time uninhabited. Here he was induced by Anaxarchus to slight the predictions of the soothsayers as false and uncertain, who represented to him that future events depended upon fate unknown by men, and were owing to nature unchangeable. Wherefore, turning to Babylon, and allowing himself several days for his ease and refreshment, he solemnly revived the custom of banqueting, that had now for some time been intermitted. As he was retiring from one of these feasts, a physician, * Theffalus by name, invites both him and his company to a new collation; where, tak

* There is a dispute whether it should be Medicus Theffalus, or Medius Theffalus. Curtius says, apud Theffalum Medicum.

ing a cup in his hand, in the midst of his draught he fetched a groan, as if he had been stabbed with a dagger; and being carried off half dead from the banquet, he was so tortured with exquisite pain, that he called for his sword to deliver himself from such misery, and complained when any one touched him, as if he had been pained with wounds. His friends gave out that he died of hard drinking, but certainly there was treason in the case, the infamy of which was sopited by his successors.

CH A P. XIV. Antipater was the contriver of this plot, who seeing the dearest of his friends put to death, Alexander Lyncestes his son-in-law murdered, and that he himself, after all his services in Greece, was rather envied than liked by the king, and that he was besides persecuted by his mother with various accusation; to all which was added, the cruel death which the governors of the conquered provinces had suffered a few days before by Alexander's order: From all these suspicious circumstances he concluded, that he was not sent for from Macedonia to accompany the king in his wars, but to be sacrificed to his revenge; wherefore he resolved to take the start of the king, and furnished for that effect his son Cassander, who used to attend the king at table, with his brother Philip and Iolas, with poison; the force of which was so great, that it could not be contained either in brass or iron, or shell, or conveyed any other way but in a horse's hoof. He strictly charged his son that he should trust no body but Thessalus and his brothers. To give an opportunity for executing his design, the banquet was renewed at Thessalus's house. Philip and Iolas, who were used to mix and taste the king's drink, had the poison in cold water, which they mingled with the wine, after tasting it.

CH A P. XV. Upon the fourth day Alexander, finding death inevitable, says, he was sensible of the fate of his family, for that most of the *Æacidæ* had died before they were thirty years old. Then he pacified the soldiers, who raised a mutiny, suspecting the king was killed by a plot, and admitted them all to see

him, after he had been carried to the highest part of the city, and gave them his hand to kiss. Whilst they all wept, he not only did not shed a tear, but even shewed no mark of disturbance; on the contrary, he comforted some who mourned most grievously, and to some he gave messages to be carried to their parents; so that his soul was as undaunted now at the sight of death, as it had formerly been at the sight of an enemy. The soldiers being dismissed, he asked his friends, who were standing about him, if they thought they should ever find a king like him? They being silent, he replied, that as he could not tell that, so this he might certainly foretell, for he, as it were, beheld it with his eyes, how much blood Macedonia would lose in this dispute, and what heaps of human sacrifices should be offered to his manes. At last he ordered his body to be buried in the temple of Hammon. When his friends saw him expiring, they demanded whom he would please to name for his successor in the empire? He answered, the most worthy. Such was the greatness of his soul, that tho' he left a son, called Hercules, a brother, called Aridæus, and his wife Roxana with child; yet, forgetting all his relations, he nominated the most deserving to be his heir; just as if it had been unlawful for any but a brave man to succeed a brave one, or to leave the administration of so great a kingdom to any but one of approved conduct. Upon this speech, as if he had sounded for a battle amongst his friends, or had thrown the apple of discord among them, they all rise up, filled with emulation, and, stooping to the lowest methods of ambition, privately make their court to the soldiers. Upon the ninth day, becoming speechless, he gave the ring off his finger to Perdiccas; which distinguishing pledge of favour pacified, in some degree, the dissention that was beginning to spread among his friends: for tho' he was not expressly named his successor, yet he seemed to be pitched upon by this mark of approbation.

C H A P. XVI. Alexander died three and thirty years and a month old; a person of greatness of mind almost above the reach of human nature. In the night wherein

wherein his mother Olympias conceived him, she dreamed, in her sleep, that she rolled about with a huge serpent in bed. Nor did her dream deceive her ; for truly she bore in her womb something greater than mortal ; and tho', on one side, she was sufficiently illustrious, on account of the most ancient family of the *Æacidæ*, from which she was descended ; and on the other, by the royal dignity of her father, brother, husband, and of her noble progenitors before them ; yet she was still more famous upon her son's account than any other. Some presages of his future grandeur appeared at his birth ; for the day on which he was brought into the world, two eagles sat all day long on the top of his father's palace, prognosticating, as it were, the double empire of Europe and Asia. The same day too his father received the news of two victories, one in the war of Illyrium, the other in the Olympic contests, to which he had sent chariots drawn by four horses, which omen portended to the child the conquest of the universe. When he was very young, he was carefully educated ; and, so soon as he was got above the years of childhood, he was formed under the instruction of Aristotle, the famous master of several philosophers. After that, upon his accession to the throne, he ordered himself to be called the king of the whole world, and possessed his soldiers with such confidence in him, that when he was present they feared no enemy, however armed, altho' they themselves were unarmed. Wherefore he engaged with no enemy at any time whom he did not conquer ; he besieged no city which he did not take ; he invaded no nation which he did not reduce ; but at last he fell, not by the bravery of his enemies, but the treachery of his friends, and domestic fraud.

B O O K XIII.

A SUMMARY of the CHAPTERS.

- I. *The grief after Alexander's death. The ingratitude of the Macedonians. The ambition of the commanders. The avarice of the soldiers.*
- II. *Different opinions in the army, about his successor.*
- III. *The opinion of Perdiccas is disliked by the foot; and upon this a sedition arose, which he prudently quashes.*
- IV. *Perdiccas, and other commanders, divide the provinces.*
- V. *The Athenians and Ætolians take up arms for the liberty of Greece. The services of Demosthenes to his country.*
- VI. *Perdiccas defeats the Cappadocians. War between Antigonus and him. The wise conduct of Ptolemy.*
- VII. *A digression about the original of the city, Cyrene.*
- VIII. *Ptolemy prepares war against Perdiccas. The famous exploits of Eumenes.*

C H A P. I.

ALEXANDER the Great dying in the very flower of his age and victories, there was a mournful silence all over Babylon, among all sorts of people: but the conquered nations did not give credit to the report; for as they had looked upon him to be invincible, so they took him to be immortal. They called to mind how often he had been delivered from imminent danger of death; and how often, when he was despaired of, he had on a sudden presented himself, not only safe, but victorious to his soldiers. But so soon as the news of his death was confirmed, all the barbarous nations, which he had a little before conquered, lamented him, not as an enemy, but a father. The mother of Darius too, though, after she had lost her son, she had been reduced from the highest grandeur to captivity, through
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the indulgence of the conqueror, was so easy, that she did not weary of living till that day; but when she heard of his death, she voluntarily put an end to her life. Not that she preferred an enemy to her son, but because she had found the dutiful behaviour of a son in him whom she had feared as an enemy. On the other hand, the Macedonians did not mourn for him, as their countryman, and a great prince, but rejoiced as for the death of an enemy; cursing his too great severity, and the continual fatigues of war to which he exposed them. Besides, the great men expected kingdoms and large commands; the common soldiers mighty treasures, and large sums of money, as an unhopèd for bounty; those proposing to themselves the succession to his kingdoms, these the inheritance of his riches: for there were in the treasury fifty thousand talents, and the yearly revenue amounted to thirty thousand. But the friends of Alexander did not without reason expect the kingdom; for they were persons of such merit, and of such authority, that any one would have taken them for kings; so comely were they in their persons, so tall and handsome; and such withal were their accomplishments of mind, and their virtues, that one who was a stranger to them, would have thought they were not of one country, but persons selected out of all the nations of the world. Never did Macedonia before, or any other nation, flourish with such a crop of famous men, whom first Philip, and then Alexander, had selected with so much care, that they did not seem chosen so much to attend them in their wars, as to succeed them in the empire. Who therefore can wonder that the world was conquered by such ministers, seeing the Macedonian army was under the conduct rather of so many kings than generals? who never would have met with their equals, if they had not quarrelled amongst themselves: indeed Macedonia would have had a great many instead of one Alexander, had not fortune fired them, for their mutual destruction, with mutual emulation.

CHAP. II. But after Alexander was killed, tho' they were joyful, they were not secure, all of them being competitors for the same dignity; nor did they

fear the soldiers less than one another, as being more licentious and fickle. Their equality inflamed their discord; no one being so far superior to the rest, that any one would submit to him: wherefore they meet in the palace armed, to settle the state of publick affairs. Perdicas is of opinion that they ought to wait 'till Roxana was delivered, who was now eight months gone with child by Alexander; and that if she had a son, he ought to succeed his father in the empire. Meleager contended, that their resolutions ought not to be delay'd for an uncertain birth; and said, there was no reason for waiting 'till kings were born, when they might pitch upon those that were already in being. If a boy pleased them, there was at Pergamus a son of Alexander, by Barsine, called Hercules; or if they would rather have a man, that there was in the camp, Aridæus the brother of Alexander, an affable gentleman, very acceptable to all people, not only on his own account, but for his father Philip's merits: but that Roxana was of Persian extract: nor was it just that the Macedonians should choose one for their king that was sprung from a race whose kingdoms they had destroyed. This Alexander, he said, would never have consented to: and, in fine, when Alexander was dying, he made no mention of him. Ptolomy refused to accept of Aridæus for king, not only on account of his mother's meanness, she being a courtesan of Larissa, but because of the infirmity he was so incident to, lest he should have the name of king, and another the authority: he thought it better to choose some from amongst those who, for their conduct, were next to the king, to govern the provinces with absolute power of war and peace, than to be subject to the will of some undeserving prince, who might have nothing to recommend him but the mere title of king. The advice of Perdicas prevailed. They therefore resolved to tarry 'till Roxana was delivered; and if a boy was born, Ieopatus, Perdicas, Cratreus, and Antipater were appointed his guardians; and immediately oaths of fidelity to them were taken.

C H A P. III. After the horse had done the same, the foot being angry that they had been allowed no share in the council, proclaim Aridæus, the king's brother, emperor; and choose guards for him out of their own body, and order him to be called by the name of his father, Philip: which things, when they were told to the horse, they dispatched two of their chiefs, Attalus and Meleager, as deputies, to sooth their minds; but they seeking to advance their own interest, by flattering the multitude, neglected their message, and sided with the soldiers. And now they begun to mutiny in good earnest, having a head and director. Then they all rush armed into the palace, to destroy the horse. Upon intelligence of this, the horse fly in a fright from the city; but having pitched their camp, they now began to put the foot into as great consternation in their turn. But neither did the animosities of the leading men amongst them cease. Attalus sends some assassins to take off Perdiccas, the head of the other party; but they seeing him armed, durst not approach him, though he dared them to it. So great was his resolution, that he went of his own accord to the foot, and assembling them, represented to them the greatness of the villainy they were attempting; telling them, they ought to consider against whom they had taken up arms; that they were not Persians, but Macedonians; not enemies, but their countrymen; most of them too their kinsmen, and all of them their fellow soldiers, that had served in the same dangers and tents; that they would indeed present their enemies with a fine sight, who would assuredly rejoice to see them by whose arms they had been conquer'd, butcher one another, and make an attonement by their own blood to the manes of those that had been slaughter'd by them.

C H A P. IV. Perdiccas having spoke these things with the eloquence peculiar to himself, he so moved the foot, that his advice being approved, he was chosen general unanimously. Then the horse, being reconciled with the foot, agreed to choose Aridæus for their king. A part of the empire was reserved for Alexander's son, if any should be born. These things were done with

Alexander's body placed in the middle of them, that his majesty might be witness of their determinations. Affairs being thus settled, Antipater is made governor of Macedonia and Greece. The charge of the king's money was entrusted to Craterus; the care of the camp, army, and the war, to Meleager and Perdiccas; and king Aridæus is appointed to convey the body of Alexander to the temple of Jupiter Hammon. Then Perdiccas being still enraged against the principal authors of the late sedition, on a sudden, while his colleagues knew nothing of the matter, orders a lustration of the camp next day, upon account of the king's death: and when the soldiers came into the field under arms, without the army's consent, he commands the mutineers, pick'd out of several companies as he passed along, to be privately delivered up to punishment. Upon his return from thence, he distributes the provinces among the grantees, that he might at once remove to a distance those who were jealous of his power, and make the distribution of commands pass for his own free gift. First Ægypt, and a part of Africa and Arabia, fell by lot to Ptolemy, whom Alexander had raised from a common soldier, on account of his good behaviour; and Cleomenes, who had built Alexandria, was order'd to install him in that office. Laomedon of Mitilene receives Syria, bordering upon this province. Philotas, Cilicia; and Philo, the Illyrians. Atropatus is made governor of the greater Media; and Perdiccas's father-in-law, of the lesser. Sufiana was given to Scynus; the greater Phrygia to Antigonus, Philip's son. Nearchus got Lydia and Pamphilia. The lesser Phrygia fell to Leonidas: Thrace, with the countries bordering upon the Euxine sea, to Lyfimachus: Cappadocia and Paphlagonia were given to Eumenes. The chief command in the camp fell to Seleucus the son of Antiochus. Cassander, the son of Antipater, is made commander of the king's guards. The former governors were still retain'd in the farther Bactria, and the Indian acquisitions. Taxiles had all the country between the river Hydaspes and Indus. Pithon the son of Agenor is sent to the colonies settled in India. Extarches received the
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command of the Parapamisians, and the countries bordering on mount Caucasus. The Aruchosians and Gedrosians are delivered to Sybertus. The Drancæ and Areans to Stratanor: Amyntas got the Bactrians: Scythæus the Sogdians; Nicanor the Parthians; Philip the Hyrcanians; Phratafernes the Armenians; Tleptolemus the Persians; Pucestes the Babylonians; Archos the Pelasgians; Arcefilaus Mesopotamia. Tho' this division of the empire, at last, proved a fatal present as it were from destiny, to all, yet it afforded means to many of them, of making great advances: for not long after, as if they had divided among themselves, not governments, but kingdoms, making themselves kings instead of governors, they not only acquired great power and wealth to themselves, but left it to their posterity.

CH A P. V. While these things were a doing in the east, in Greece the Athenians and Ætolians carried on the war with all their might, which they had begun while Alexander was alive. The causes of the war were, that Alexander, upon his return from India, had sent letters into Greece, by which he commanded all the cities to recall their exiled members, except those who were condemn'd for murder. These letters being read in the presence of all Greece, assembled at the Olympic games, occasioned great commotions; because a great many had not been legally banished their country, but by a faction of the leading men; and the same grandees were afraid, lest, upon their being recall'd, they should come to have more power than themselves. Wherefore even their several cities grumbled, and said, that their liberty ought to be defended by force of arms. However, the Ætolians and Athenians were the chief of them all; which being told to Alexander, he ordered a thousand ships of war to be got ready by his allies, for carrying on the war in the west; and was resolved to advance with a strong army to destroy Athens. Wherefore the Athenians having got together an army of thirty thousand men, and two hundred ships, wage war against Antipater, to whom the government of Greece had fallen by lot, and block'd him up by a close siege, when they found that he declined battle,
and

and cover'd himself within the walls of the city Heraclæa. At the same time, Demosthenes, the Athenian orator, being banished his country for taking a bribe from Harpalus, who had fled from the cruelty of Alexander, because he had perswaded the city to a war with him, was then by chance living in banishment at Megara; who when he understood that Hyperides was sent ambassador by the Athenians, to solicit the Peloponnesians to join in this war, following him, he gain'd by his eloquence Sicyon, Argos, Corinth, and other cities, to the interest of the Athenians; for which excellent service he was recalled from banishment, and a ship was sent to meet him by his countrymen. In the mean time, Leosthenes, general of the Athenians, was slain in the siege of Antipater, by a weapon discharge at him, as he pass'd along, from the walls, which accident gave such encouragement to Antipater, that he laid open the entrenchments which he had thrown up. After that, he dispatched ambassadors to Leonatus, to beg succours of him; and the Athenians receiving advice, that he was on his march for that purpose, met him with a gallant army, and fought him; and in the action, which was wholly performed by the horse, he received a terrible wound, of which he died. Antipater, altho' he saw his auxiliaries defeated, yet rejoiced at the death of Leonatus; for he was glad that his rival was taken off, and that his forces were added to his own. Wherefore having immediately join'd the armies, as he now seem'd equal for the enemy, even in battle, he rais'd the siege, and march'd into Macedonia. The troops of the Greeks too having drive the enemy out of Greece, slid away into their respective cities.

CHAP. VI. In the mean time, Perdiccas having made war upon Ariarathes king of the Cappadocian and being victorious in a battle, got no other reward but wounds and dangers: for the enemy, after the engagement, being retired into their city, every one kill'd their wives and children, set fire to their houses, with all their goods, and having thrown their slaves too into the flames, they likewise cast in themselves, that the victorious

victorious enemy might get nothing of what was theirs, but the sight of the fire. After this, that he might support the authority and power he had already gotten by the regal dignity, he projects a match with Cleopatra, sister of Alexander the Great, and formerly married to the other Alexander, her mother Olympias not being averse to it. But he was desirous first to out-wit Antipater, by pretending to seek an alliance with him. Wherefore he pretends to seek his daughter in marriage, that he might the more easily engage him to furnish him with young recruits out of Macedonia. But Antipater seeing through this stratagem, by courting two wives at the same time, he lost both. After these things, a war broke out between Perdiccas and Antigonus. Craterus and Antipater carried assistance to Antigonus, and concluding a peace with the Athenians, they gave to Polyphercon the government of Greece and Macedonia. Perdiccas, his affairs going wrong, consults about the management of the war with Aridæus and the son of Alexander the Great, the care of whose education had been committed to him. Some were for having the war carried into Macedonia, to the very source and head of the kingdom; where was Olympias the mother of Alexander, who would be of no small service to their party, and where they were sure to find the hearty concurrence of their countrymen, because of the veneration they paid to the names of Alexander and Philip. But it seem'd highly expedient to begin with Ægypt, lest when they were gone into Macedonia, Asia should be seized by Ptolemy. Paphlagonia, Caria, and Lycia, and Phrygia, are added to Eumenes, over and above the other provinces which had been given him. Then he is order'd to wait for Craterus and Antipater. Alcetas the brother of Perdiccas, and Neoptolemus, with their armies, are appointed to assist him. The chief command of the fleet is given to Clitus. Cilicia being taken from Philotas, is given to Philoxenus. Perdiccas himself marches for Ægypt with a huge army. Thus Macedonia, while the commanders were divided into two factions, arm'd against its own bowels; and turning the sword from a foreign

foreign enemy, employ'd it to its own destruction, after the manner of mad people, who slash and cut their own hands and limbs. But Ptolemy in Egypt, by his great address and application, acquired great power to himself: for by his extraordinary moderation, he had gain'd the favour of the Egyptians, and obliged the neighbouring princes by kindnesses and acts of courtesy; he had likewise enlarged his kingdom by the acquisition of Cyrere: and he was now become so powerful, that he did not so much fear as he was fear'd by his enemies.

C H A P. VII. Cyrene was built by Aristæus, who being tongue-tied, was called Battus. His father Grinus, king of the island Thera, on account of his son's infirmity, who was now grown up, but could not speak, went to pay his devotions at the oracle of Delphos; and had an answer, ordering his son Battus to go to Africa, and build the city Cyrene, for there he would receive the use of his tongue. This answer seeming only a piece of mockery, because of the scarcity of men in the island Thera, from whence they were commanded to send a colony to so vast a country as Africa to build a city, the affair was set aside. Then, some time after, the Therians, as being disobedient to the divine will, are compell'd by a pestilence to obey the orders of the god. The number was so small, that they scarce fill'd one ship. After they were come into Africa, dislodging the inhabitants of the place, they seated themselves upon mount Cyras, both for the pleasantness of the situation, and the plenty of springs there. Here Battus their leader, the impediment of his tongue being removed, began to have the use of speech; which encouraged them to conceive hopes of building a city, one part of the god's promise being now fulfill'd. Wherefore pitching their tents, they were informed by an old tradition, that Cyrene, a young lady of exquisite beauty, being carried by Apollo from Pelion, a mountain of Thessaly, to the top of that very hill they had seized, and being with child by him, was deliver'd of four children, Nomius, Aristæus, Authocus and Argæus: that ambassadors being sent by her father Hypseus

Hypsæus, king of Thessaly, to seek the young lady, being charmed with the place, they settled there with her; that three of her sons, when they were grown up to be men, returning into Thessaly, got their grandfather's kingdom; that Aristæus reigned over all Arcadia; and that he first taught mankind the use of bees, honey, and cheese, and first of all discovered the rising of the solstitial days: upon hearing all which, Battus, knowing the virgin's name from the answer of Apollo, built the city Cyrene.

CHAP. VIII. Wherefore Ptolemy having increased his forces by the addition of the strength of this city, made preparations for war against the coming of Perdiccas. But the hatred Perdiccas had drawn upon himself by his pride did him more prejudice than the strength of his enemies: for the allies, not able to bear with him any longer, fled over in whole companies to Antipater. Neoptolemus too being left for the assistance of Eumenes, not only designed to desert himself, but to carry off part of the army with him. When Eumenes came to know this, he was obliged to engage in a battle with the traitor. Neoptolemus, being worsted, fled to Antipater and Polyperchon, and persuaded them, by unintermitted marches, to get up with Eumenes, and attack him full of joy for his victory, and quite secure, by putting his enemy to flight. But the design came to Eumenes's ears, and therefore the plot was turned upon the contrivers of it; and they, who hoped to attack him unguarded, were surprized themselves upon their march, quite fatigued with waking all the night before. In this battle Polyperchon was killed; and Neoptolemus, engaging hand to hand with Eumenes, after a sharp conflict, wherein both of them were wounded, lost his life. Wherefore Eumenes, being victorious in two battles successively, somewhat supported the spirits of his party, which had been sadly cast down by the desertion of their allies. However at last Perdiccas being slain, he, together with Python, Illyrius, and Alcetes, the brother of Perdiccas, is declared an enemy, and the management of the war against them was committed to Antigonus.

B O O K XIV.

A SUMMARY of the CHAPTERS.

- I. *The bravery and prudence of Eumenes in his war against Antigonus.*
- II. *He is overcome, besieged, and freed. Flees to the Argaspidæ.*
- III. *They, scorning to be commanded by him, are defeated by the enemy. A conspiracy against Eumenes.*
- IV. *Eumenes delivered bound to Antigonus.*
- V. *Cassander oppresses Greece, and marches into Macedonia against Olympias.*
- VI. *Olympias flies, is besieged, and surrenders herself to Cassander, by whose order she is put to death.*

C H A P. I.

WHEN Eumenes found that Perdiccas was slain, himself declared an enemy, and the management of the war committed to Antigonus, he frankly discovered the matter to his men, lest fame should magnify it, or they be discouraged by the unexpected news, and that he might have occasion to observe how his men were affected towards him, resolving to take his measures according to the disposition of the whole body. But he, first of all, bravely declared, that if any of them was frightened at this news, he was at liberty to go away when he pleased. By this declaration he so effectually secured them to his side, that they voluntarily desired him to go on with the war, protesting that they would rescind the decrees of the Macedonians with their swords. After this he marched his army into Ætolia, raising contributions upon the cities, and plundering those that refused to pay. Then he went to Sardis to visit Cleopatra, sister of Alexander the Great, that he might have her words to animate the chief officers and captains by, who would think that royal majesty would certainly go to the side

the favoured. Such was their veneration for Alexander, that they sought the protection of his sacred name even by submitting to the direction of those women who were related to him. When he returned to the camp, letters were found scattered through it, in which great rewards were proffered to whoever should bring the head of Eumenes to Antigonus. When Eumenes was informed of this, he summoned his men to assemble, and first thanked them that none had been found amongst them capable of preferring the hope of a bloody reward to the obligation of his military oath. Then he cunningly gave out, that these letters had been forged by himself to sound their affections; that his life was in the hands of them all; but that neither Antigonus, nor any other general, would purchase a victory at the expence of such an example against themselves. By this conduct he both confirmed the wavering inclination of the soldiers for the present, and provided that for the future, if any such thing should happen again, it might be believed that it was not the enemy that tried to corrupt them, but the general himself that had a mind to make an experiment of their fidelity; so they all very zealously offered him their services for the security of his person.

CHAP. II. In the mean time Antigonus came upon them with his army, and encamping, the day after offered battle. Nor did Eumenes delay, but engaging, and being defeated, fled into a certain strong castle; where, when he saw he was like to suffer a siege, he dismissed part of his army, lest he should either be delivered to the enemy by the consent of the multitude, or the siege should be rendered more incommodious by too great a number. Then he dispatched ambassadors to Antipater, who alone seemed able to oppose the forces of Antigonus, humbly to beg his assistance; but Antigonus, when he was informed that he had sent succours to Eumenes, raised the siege. Eumenes was indeed delivered for a time from the fears of death, but he could not hope for long security, now his army was gone. Wherefore, upon mature deliberation, he thought it best to have recourse to the Argyraspides of Alexander

ander the Great, an army never yet conquered, and shining with the glory of so many nations. But they despised all other generals after Alexander, thinking it a disgrace to serve under any other after so great a king. Wherefore Eumenes carried himself with great submission towards them, and addressed every one of them separately in the humblest manner; one while calling them his fellow soldiers, another while his patrons; sometimes the companions of his dangerous enterprises in the East, and sometimes his only security and refuge; the only men by whose valour the East had been subdued; the only persons who had surpassed the military exploits of Bacchus, and the labours of Hercules: that Alexander owed his greatness to them; that by them he had attained to divine honours and immortal glory. He begs them to receive him, not in the character of a general, but of a fellow soldier, and do him the honour to take him into their body. Being received among them upon this condition, he, by degrees, worked himself into the chief command, sometimes by admonishing them in private, and sometimes by gently correcting their faults. Nothing could be done in the camp without him, nothing managed without the help of his dexterity.

CHAP. III. At last, when news was brought that Antigonus was coming with an army, he obliged them to march out to battle. There, slighting the orders of their general, they were defeated by the bravery of their enemy. In this battle they not only lost the glory they had acquired by many wars, with their wives and children, but likewise all the booty they had got in their long service. But Eumenes, who was the occasion of this overthrow, and had no other hopes of security left, encouraged the vanquished, affirming that they had been superior in courage, and said, that if they did but pursue the war, their enemies must sue for peace; that the losses, upon account of which they thought themselves worsted, were two thousand women, and a few infants and slaves, which they had better try to recover by prosecuting, than by abandoning the victory. But the Argyraspides declare

that they would neither fly after the loss of their wives, nor take the field again to fight against their own children; and reproach him for engaging them, returning home, after so many years service, with the fruits of so many victories, in a fresh war, and for deluding them with vain promises when they were almost at home, and within sight of their country; and that now, when they had lost all the profits of their good fortune, tho' defeated, he would not suffer them to pass in quiet a miserable old age. Then, without telling any of their officers their design, they immediately send deputies to Antigonus, to desire that which they had lost might be restored to them. He promises he would, if they would deliver up Eumenes to him. Upon information of this, Eumenes, with a few others, attempted to fly; but being brought back, and surrounded by the multitude, his case being now desperate, he desired that he might be allowed to speak to the army for the last time.

CHAR IV. Being desired by them all to speak, he ordered silence, and his chains being slackened, he shewed them his hands, as he was bound, and thus addressed them; "You see, says he, fellow soldiers, the dress and ornaments of your general, which none of my enemies hath imposed upon me, for that would have been some consolation in my disgrace. It is you that of a conqueror hath made me a captive, and of a general a prisoner. You have bound yourselves four times within this year by oath to obey me; but I pass that, for reproaches do not become the miserable. One favour I would beg of you, that if nothing will satisfy Antigonus but my head, you would see me die here amongst you. For it signifies nothing to him how, or where I fall, and I shall thus be delivered from an infamous death. If I obtain this of you, I freely release you from the oath by which you have so often engaged yourselves to me. But if you are ashamed to lay violent hands on me, now, I beg it of you, give me a sword, and permit your general to do that for you without the tie of an oath, which you have sworn to do for your
"general."

“ general.” When he could not obtain this, turning his prayers into curses, he said, “ May the gods, the revengers of perjury, look down upon you, ye most execrable slaves, and pour such vengeance upon you as your treatment of your general has deserved. It is you that so lately imbrued your hands in the blood of Perdiccas, and attempted the same wickedness against Antipater, and you finally would have slain Alexander himself, if the fates had permitted him to fall by the hands of man ; but all you could do, was to plague him with your mutinies, and that you did. Now I, the last victim of you, perfidious villains, leave these curses and imprecations with you, that you may pass all your lives in poverty at a distance from your country in this exile of a camp, and may your arms consume you, by which you have destroyed more generals of your own than of your enemies.” Thus, full of indignation, he walked before his keeper to the camp of Antigonus. The army followed, having betrayed their general, and themselves being prisoners, and thus lead up a triumph to the camp of their conqueror, delivering up the laurels of king Alexander, and the glory of so many victories to him. And, that nothing might be wanting to complete the pomp, the elephants too, and the oriental auxiliaries, follow. This victory was so much the more glorious for Antigonus than so many victories to Alexander, that whereas he conquered the East, the other overcame those by whom the East had been conquered. Wherefore Antigonus distributed those conquerors of the world among his own army, restoring to them what he had taken from them in the victory. As for Eumenes, in respect to the former friendship between them, he would not see him a captive, but assigned the care of him to certain keepers.

CHAP. V. In the mean time Eurydice, the wife of king Aridæus, when she understood that Polyperchon was returning from Greece into Macedonia, and that Olympias was sent for by him, struck with a womanish emulation, and making a bad use of her husband's indisposition, whose offices she exercised her-

self, she writes, in the king's name, to Polyperchon, to deliver up the army immediately to Cassander, to whom the king had committed the administration of his kingdom. She sent the same orders into Asia to Antigonus. Cassander, looking upon himself as highly obliged by these favours, managed every thing according to the will of this ambitious woman; and then, going into Greece, makes war upon several cities, the destruction of which alarmed the Spartans, like some neighbouring fire; so that, distrusting their arms, they wall their city, which they had always till then defended by their arms without walls, contrary to the answers of the oracles, and the ancient glory of their ancestors. So much had they degenerated from their forefathers, that whereas the bravery of the citizens had formerly been their only walls, the citizens now thought that there was no security for them but by hiding themselves within walls. In the mean while the disorders in Macedonia obliged Cassander to come home from Greece. For Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great, coming from Epirus to Macedonia, with Æacides, the king of the Molossians, attending her, was forbid to enter the country by Eurydice and king Aridæus. The Macedonians being incensed, either by their respect to her husband's memory, or to the greatness of her son, and the indignity of the affront, went over to Olympias, and, by her order, both Eurydice and the king were slain, after having held the kingdom for six years after Alexander.

CH A P. VI. But neither did Olympias reign long, for having barbarously destroyed many of the nobility, and acting more like a furious woman than a queen, she became universally hated. When she heard that Cassander was coming, not daring to trust the Macedonians, she retired into the city Pydna, with Roxana her daughter-in-law, and her grandson Hercules. In this journey she was attended by Deidamia, the daughter of king Æacides, and Thessalonice her step-daughter, who had the honour to be descended from king Philip, and many other great ladies; a pompous rather than an useful retinue. When these things were made

made known to Cassander, he marched with the utmost expedition to Pydna, and besieged the city. Olympias being sadly distressed by famine and sword, became weary of the long siege, and capitulating for her life, surrender'd herself to the conqueror. But Cassander assembling the people to consult what they would have done with Olympias, he induces the parents of those who had been put to death by her, to come in mourning apparel, and lay open her cruelties. The Macedonians were thereby so inflamed, that without any regard to her former majesty, they order her to be put to death; forgetting that by the means of her husband and son, they had not only lived safely among their neighbours, but attained to such vast power, and the empire of the world. Olympias, when she saw armed men advancing towards her, voluntarily met them, dress'd in her royal habit, and leaning upon two of her maids. The executioners no sooner beheld her, than, being struck with the remembrance of her former majesty, and of many of their kings, they stopp'd till some others were sent by Cassander, to stab her; who did not decline the blow, or cry out like a woman, but submitted to death, after the manner of gallant men, and suitably to the glory of her ancient race; so that you might have perceived the soul of Alexander in his dying mother. Besides, just as she was going to expire, she is said to have cover'd her legs with her garments and hair, that nothing indecent might be seen about her. After this, Cassander married Thessalonice, the daughter of king Aridæus; and confined Alexander's son and mother in close prison, in the citadel of Amphipolis.

B O O K XV.

A SUMMARY of the CHAPTERS.

I. *The war of Antigonus against the confederates, in which Demetrius the son is defeated.*

II. *The*

II. *The cruelty of Cassander towards the family of Alexander the Great. The great success of Antigonus.*

III. *The valour and exploits of Lyfimachus.*

IV. *The original and conduct of Seleucus. Antigonus falls in battle.*

CHAP. I.

Perdiccas and his brother, with Eumenes and Polyperchon, and the other generals of the opposite faction, being killed, the contention among the successors of Alexander seemed to be at an end; when on a sudden a quarrel arose among the conquerors themselves: For Ptolemy, Lyfimachus, and Cassander, demanded an equal division of the booty that had been taken, and of the provinces. Antigonus refused to admit of any partners in the advantages of the war; since he had sustained the chief dangers in it. And that he might have an honourable pretence for breaking with his confederates, he publishes to the world, that he was resolved to avenge the death of Olympias, who had been slain by Cassander, and relieve the son of Alexander his king, with his mother, from their confinement at Amphipolis. Upon intelligence of this, Ptolemy and Cassander entring into a confederacy with Lyfimachus and Seleucus, carry on war, both by sea and land, with all possible vigour. Ptolemy, at this time, possessed Egypt, with the greater part of Africa, and Cyprus, and Phœnicia. Macedonia and Greece were under the government of Cassander. Antigonus had taken possession of Asia, and the eastern parts; but Demetrius his son was defeated in the first engagement, by Ptolemy, at Gamala. In this action, Ptolemy acquired more glory by his moderation, than by the victory itself; for he not only dismissed all Demetrius's friends, with all their baggage, but gave them presents; and restored all the private furniture of Demetrius, with this compliment over and above, that he had not engaged in this war for plunder, but for honour and glory; being provoked that Antigonus, after he had conquered

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the leaders of the contrary faction, should have kept the spoils of a common victory whole to himself.

CHAP. II. During these transactions, Cassander, in his return from Apollonia, fell amongst the Antoniatae, who having been forced to leave their native soil, by reason of the prodigious multitudes of frogs and mice that infested it, were seeking about for a new habitation. Fearing they might invade Macedonia, he makes an alliance with them, and assigns them lands in the remotest parts of the country. Then lest Hercules the son of Alexander, who was now fourteen, should, out of regard to his father's name, be invited to take the crown of Macedonia, he orders him and his mother to be murdered, and their bodies to be buried in the earth, lest the murder should be betrayed by a solemn public funeral. And as if he had done but a small crime, by killing the king first, and afterwards his mother Olympias, and now his son, he, with the like treachery, takes off his other son too, together with his mother Roxane. Just as if he could not obtain the kingdom of Macedonia, to which he aspired, at any other rate, than by perpetrating such wickedness. In the meantime, Ptolemy engages again in a sea-fight with Demetrius; and having lost his fleet, and yielded the victory to the enemy, he fled back into Egypt. Demetrius, sends back Leontiscus, Ptolemy's son, and his brother Menelaus, and their friends, with all their baggage, to Egypt; being induced to it by the like favour done him before, and that it might appear they were not spurred on by hatred, but by the desire of fame, even in the heat of war, they strove who should out-do each other in gifts and presents. So much more honourably were wars managed then, than private friendships are now cultivated. Antigonus being elevated by this victory, orders himself and his son Demetrius, to be called king by the people. Ptolemy too, that he might not be thought a person of less authority among his subjects, received the same title from his army. When Cassander and Lyfimachus heard of this, they likewise took the like titles. They all forbore to assume these ornaments.

ments, while the sons of their prince were alive. So great was their moderation, that though they enjoy'd the power and wealth of kings, yet they contentedly abstained from the title, whilst Alexander had an heir remaining. But Ptolemy and Cassander, and the rest of the leaders of the other party, finding that they were each exceedingly distressed by Antigonus, while each managed the war by himself in private, and refused to assist his neighbour, as if the victory would be one man's, and not belong to them all, animating one another by letters, they concert a time and place of meeting, and prepare for the war with united strength. To which Cassander, because he could not be present, being taken up with a war nearer home, sent Lyfimachus with a great army, for the assistance of the allies.

CH A P. III. This Lyfimachus was of a noble extraction in Macedonia, but more famous for the proofs he had given of greater abilities than all the nobility of Macedonia. So considerable were his virtues, that he excell'd all those great men that conquered the east, in greatness of mind, and philosophy, as well as strength of body. For when Alexander the Great, in his wrath against Calisthenes the philosopher, for opposing the introduction of the Persian manner of adoring their kings, had pretended that he was guilty of a plot against his life, and by cruelly mangling all his members, and cutting off his lips, ears, and nose, had rendered him a most deformed and miserable spectacle, and had him, besides, carried about in a cage with a dog, for an example of terror to the rest; then Lyfimachus, who had been a scholar of Calisthenes, and received precepts of virtue from him in his youth, in compassion to so great a man, who suffered for no other crime, but for asserting the cause of liberty, gave him poison, to put an end to his misery. This Alexander took so ill, that he ordered him to be exposed to a fierce lion; but the lion, at the first sight of him, making his attack with great fury, Lyfimachus thrust his hand, wrap'd in his coat, into the lion's mouth, and getting hold of his tongue, killed him: which being told to the king, his admiration terminated in his satisfaction, and he treated

him with more affection than formerly, for his bravery. Lyfimachus too, with a great mind, put up this ill usage from the king, as from a parent. In fine, all memory of this being quite effaced out of his mind, as the king was pursuing some straggling enemies in India, and had left his guards behind him, by reason of the swiftness of his horse, he alone attended him through vast tracts of sand: His brother Philip attempting before to do the same thing, expired in the king's arms: But Alexander, as he was alighting from his horse, wounded Lyfimachus with the point of his spear in the forehead; so that the blood could not be stopped, 'till the king, taking his diadem, bound the wound with it, wrapping it about his head; which was the first omen of regal majesty to Lyfimachus. After the death of Alexander, when the provinces were divided amongst his successors, the fiercest and most warlike nations were assigned to him, as a person of the most distinguished valour; so far did he bear away the palm of bravery above the rest, with the consent of all.

C H A P. IV. Before the war broke out between Ptolemy and his allies, on the one side, and Antigonus on the other, Seleucus, on a sudden, left the greater Asia, and came in as an additional enemy to Antigonus. The conduct of this gentleman too was famous, and his original as admirable: for his mother Laodice being married to Antiochus, a famous commander in Philip's army, seemed to herself, in her sleep, to have conceived by Apollo; and to have received a ring from the god, as a reward, on the stone of which an anchor was engraved, which she was commanded to give to her son. A ring which was found next day in the bed, with the same impression, made this dream very memorable; as likewise the figure of an anchor that was visible on Seleucus's thigh, when he was born. Wherefore, when Seleucus was going to attend Alexander in his Persian expedition, Laodice gave him this ring; informing him, at the same time, of his origin. After the death of Alexander, having seized the kingdom of the East, he built a city, and there erected a monument of his double extraction; for he called the city Antioch, from the
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name of his father Antiochus, and consecrated the places nigh the city to Apollo. The mark of his origin continued in his posterity; for his sons and grandsons had an anchor on their thigh, as a natural proof of their descent. After the division of the Macedonian empire between the great commanders of the army, he carried on many wars in the east. He first took Babylon; and having encreased his forces by this victory, he reduced the Bactrians. Then he marched into India, which country, after Alexander's death, as if the yoke of slavery had been thereby taken off its neck, had murdered its governors. One Sandracottus was the chief promoter of the attempt to recover liberty; but after obtaining the victory, what he pretended to do for liberty, he turned into quite the reverse: for having possessed himself of the government, he enslaved those people whom he had delivered from a foreign yoke. He was a person of low birth, but was encouraged by the authority of a god to aspire to regal power: for having so provoked king Alexander by his saucy tongue, that orders were given to kill him, he saved himself by the swiftness of his heels; and being tired with running, as he lay fast asleep, a lion of a huge bulk came to him, and wiped off the sweat that run down his body, with its tongue, and gently awakening him, left him. Being first inflamed with the hopes of a kingdom by this prodigy, having drawn together some bands of robbers to stand by him, he engaged the Indians to favour his new sovereignty. Afterwards, as he was waging war against the governors of Alexander, a wild elephant, of a prodigious size, came of his own accord to him, and received him on his back, as if he had been tamed by art; and was his leader in the war, and a remarkable fighter. Sandracottus, at the same time that Seleucus was laying the foundation of his future greatness, made himself master of India: and Seleucus making a league with him, and having settled his affairs in the east, proceeded to the war against Antigonus. Wherefore all the forces of the allies being joined, a battle was fought; and in it Antigonus lost his life, and his son Demetrius was put to flight. But

the allies having put an end to the war against the enemy, turned their swords once more against themselves, and falling out about the spoil, are again split into two factions. Seleucus joins Demetrius, and Ptolemy Lysimachus. Cassander's son Philip succeeded him; and thus new wars broke out as it were afresh in Macedonia.

BOOK XVI.

A SUMMARY of the CHAPTERS.

- I. *Antipater, the son of Cassander, becomes parricide. Demetrius kills Alexander, the son of Cassander; and usurps Macedonia.*
- II. *Demetrius defeated, and put to flight. Antipater the parricide's ignominious death. The remarkable instances of divine vengeance upon Cassander's family. Ptolemy's easy death.*
- III. *The war between Pyrrhus and Lysimachus. A digression about the origin and the affairs of Heraclea.*
- IV. *The villanies of Clearchus their tyrant.*
- V. *By what methods he secured his government. Is killed at last by Chion and Leonidas. The state of Heraclea after his death.*

CHAP. I.

AFTER the successive deaths of Cassander and his son Philip, queen Thessalonice, not long after, was killed by her son Antipater; though she conjured him by the breasts that suckled him, to spare her life. The cause of this unnatural murder was, that she seemed to have favour'd her son Alexander most, in the division of her kingdom betwixt the brothers. This villainous action was generally reckoned more atrocious, because there was no appearance of underhand dealing on the mother's side; tho' after all, nothing can excuse parricide. Upon these accounts therefore, Alexander intend-

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ing to make war upon his brother, to revenge his mother's death, desired aid of Demetrius: nor did Demetrius hesitate about the matter, but made all haste, in hopes of getting the kingdom of Macedonia. But Lyfimachus being alarm'd at his coming, perswaded his son Antipater rather to be reconciled to his brother, than give his father's enemy an opportunity of entering into Macedonia. When Demetrius perceived that a reconciliation was begun betwixt the brothers, he took off Alexander by a plot, and seizing the kingdom of Macedonia, he assembled the army, in order to excuse the murder to them. Here he alledged, that Alexander had first made an attempt upon him, and that he had only prevented treachery, not committed it: that he had the best right to the crown, both in regard of his age, and experience, and many other respects; for his father had accompanied king Philip and Alexander the Great, in all their wars; and after that had carefully served the children of Alexander, and been the leading man in the pursuit of the revoltors. On the other hand, Antipater, the grandfather of these young men, had always been, though but a minister, much severer than the kings themselves; but that Cassander, their father, was the murderer of the royal family, and had spared neither women nor children; and had not stopped 'till he rooted out the whole stock of the royal family: that because these villainies could not be revenged upon Cassander himself, vengeance ought to be taken upon his son. Wherefore, if the dead have any sense of human affairs, Philip and Alexander would not have the murderers of them and their issue, but the avengers of them to hold the kingdom of Macedonia. By these things, the people being brought into better temper, he is declared king of Macedonia. Lyfimachus, who was at this time distressed with a war against Doricetes king of Thrace, that he might not be obliged at the same time to fight against him too, surrendered to him the other part of Macedonia, which fell to the share of his son-in-law Antipater, and concluded a peace with him.

CHAP. II. Wherefore, Demetrius being supported by the whole strength of Macedonia, designed to invade Asia; but Ptolemy, Seleucus, and Lyfimachus, having found by experience in the former war, what strength unanimity gave, concluding an alliance a second time, and uniting their forces, carry the war against Demetrius into Europe. Pyrrhus, king of Epire, joined with them as a friend and ally in this war; hoping that Demetrius would lose Macedonia as easily as he had obtained it. Nor were his hopes vain; for having corrupted his army, and put himself to flight, he seized upon the kingdom of Macedonia. In the mean time, Lyfimachus puts his son-in-law Antipater to death, who complained that the kingdom had been taken from him by the treachery of his father-in-law, and imprisoned his daughter Eurydice, who joined with him in his complaints. And thus the whole family of Cassander, partly by slaughter, partly by other punishments, and partly by parricide, fell as so many sacrifices to satisfy the manes of Alexander. Demetrius also, being surrounded by so many armies, when he might have died honourably in the field, chose rather ignominiously to deliver himself up to Seleucus. The war being ended, Ptolemy dies with mighty reputation for his exploits. He, contrary to the law of nations, had resigned his kingdom to his youngest son, before his indisposition, and had given the people a reason for so doing; who shewed themselves no less favourable to the son, in accepting of him for their king, than the father had shewn himself kind in delivering up his kingdom to him. Among many other instances of mutual duty between father and son, this had not a little conduced to gain the young man the affections of the people; that his father, after having publickly delivered up the kingdom to his son, had waited upon him as a private person among his guards; and thought it more glorious to be the father of a king, than to enjoy any kingdom whatsoever.

CHAP. III. But discord, the eternal plague of equals, had stirred up a new war between Lyfimachus and

and king Pyrrhus, who, a little before, had entered into an alliance against Demetrius. Lyfimachus, being the conqueror, drove Pyrrhus out of Macedonia, and possessed himself of it. After that, he made war upon Thrace, and then upon Heraclea. The beginning and adventures of this city are memorable. When the Boeotians were infested with a raging pestilence, the oracle at Delphos had answered them, that they ought to settle a colony in the country of Pontus, and consecrate it to Hercules. But, through dread of a long and perilous voyage, all rather choosin^g death in their own country, this expedition was neglected. Soon after the Phocensians made war upon them; and being several times defeated in this war, they were obliged to have recourse to the oracle the second time. On this occasion answer was made them, that the remedy for the war and the pestilence was the same. Wherefore, raising a body of planters, and arriving in Pontus, they built Heraclea; and as they made this settlement by the advice of the oracle, they soon became very mighty and powerful. After this, the city had many wars against its neighbours, and very many intestine broils. Amongst other things that were peculiarly remarkable, this is one. When the Athenians were masters of all, and had defeated the Persians, and laid a tax upon Greece and Asia for the maintenance of a fleet for the common security, every people paid their part willingly but the Heracleans; they alone refused to pay it, in respect to their ancient alliances with the kings of Persia. Wherefore Lamachus was sent by the Athenians, with an order to force from them what was denied, who, leaving his ships in harbour to go and ravage their lands, lost all his fleet, with the greatest part of his army, by the violence of a sudden tempest. Thus, incapable of returning by sea, his ships being lost, and not daring to return by land with so small a handful of men through so many barbarous nations, the people of Heraclea esteeming this a handsomer opportunity for kindness than revenge, furnish him with men and provisions, and sent him home; thinking the laying their country waste no loss, if they could

make those their friends that had been formerly their enemies.

CHAP. IV. Among many other calamities which they suffered, they fell likewise under the rod of tyranny. For when the populace violently demanded a remission of all debts, and an equal distribution of the lands, the matter being long debated in the senate, when no final resolution could be agreed upon relating to it, at last they begged assistance against the commons, grown wanton by too much ease, from Timotheus, the Athenian general, and afterwards Epaminondas, the Theban general. But both refusing them, they betook themselves to Clearchus, whom they themselves had forced into banishment. So great was their distress, that they were necessitated to recal him, whom they had exiled from his country, to its relief. But Clearchus, whom his exile had rendered more loose and dissolute, thinking this dissention a proper opportunity for seizing the government, he first of all had a private conference with Mithridates, the enemy of his country, and obliges himself to put the kingdom into his hands, so soon as he was restored to his country, upon condition he would make him his deputy. But afterwards he turned the treacherous plot he had laid against his country against Mithridates himself: for, upon his return from banishment to be, as it were, mediator in those dissensions at home, at the time appointed to deliver the city to Mithridates, he seized him, with his friends, and did not dismiss him without a very large ransom. As he made by this action his friend his enemy, so, instead of defending the cause of the senate, he became the patron of the people; and not only inflamed the commons against those who had recalled him from exile, given him this power, and placed him in the citadel, but likewise committed the most brutal cruelties a tyrant could be guilty of. Wherefore, calling the people to an assembly, he said, He would no longer support the senate in the exercise of their oppression of the commons, but would interpose if they persevered in their former cruelties. That if they thought themselves able to oppose the insolence of the senators, he would depart

depart with his soldiers, because he would not concern himself in their civil dissensions : But if they distrusted their own strength, he would not be wanting to espouse their quarrels. Therefore they might deliberate amongst themselves whether they would have him to retire, or to stay with them to stand by their interest. The commons, flattered by these fair speeches, confer the sovereignty upon him, and, in their wrath against the senate's power, give themselves up, with their wives and children, to the slavery of a tyrannical government. So Clearchus apprehended sixty senators, and put them into chains, (for the rest had escaped.) The populace rejoiced that the senate was ruined, especially by the person whom they had called in to be their defender, and that, by a reverse of fortune, the assistance they expected to find, had turned to their destruction. Whilst Clearchus threatened death every where, he raised the price of ransom ; and having received a great sum of money, upon promising to withdraw them privately from the violence of the people, cheated them at once of their lives and fortunes.

CHAP. V. Afterwards, being informed that war was preparing against him by those who had made their escape, several cities being moved by pity to engage in their assistance, he manumitted their slaves. And that nothing might be wanting to compleat the distress of the most honourable families, already reduced to the most miserable plight, he obliges their wives and daughters to marry their slaves, by threatening death to such as refused, that he might render them more faithful to himself, and more violent against their masters. But such a dismal marriage was more frightful to the matrons than death ; wherefore many kill themselves before the wedding, having first murdered their new spouses, and, by an honourable death, deliver themselves from the miseries of an ignominious life. After this a battle is fought, in which the tyrant being victorious, he drags the captive senators in triumph before the faces of the people. Returning to the city, some he imprisons, others he puts to the rack, and o-
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thers he kills. No place in the city was free from marks of the tyrant's cruelty. Insolence is added to his cruelty, arrogance to his inhumanity. For sometimes his success so elevated him, that he forgot he was a man, and called himself a son of Jupiter. A golden eagle was carried before him as a badge of his descent when he went through the streets. He wore a scarlet robe and buskins, such as kings wear in tragedies, and a crown of gold upon his head. He likewise calls his son Thunder, that he might impose upon the gods, not only by lies, but by names. Two very noble youths, Chion, and Leonides, being highly incensed to see him dare to behave with such insolence, resolve upon his death. These were the disciples of Plato the philosopher, who being desirous to exert, in favour of their country, the virtue to which they were daily trained up by their master, place fifty of their kinsmen in ambush as so many clients: they, as if they had quarrelled, go into the citadel to the tyrant as to their king, that he might decide the difference, and they were easily admitted, upon account of their old familiarity. But while the tyrant very attentively heard one of them that spoke first, he is killed by the other. They however were overpowered by the guards, their friends coming too late to their assistance. Wherefore so it happened that the tyrant indeed was slain, but their country was not delivered. For Satyrus, the brother of Clearchus, in the same manner usurps the government, and for many years the Heracleans groaned under a succession of tyrants.

B O O K XVII.

A SUMMARY of the CHAPTERS.

- I. *The tragical end of king Lyfimachus.*
- II. *After having lost fifteen children, he falls in battle. Seleucus is treacherously slain by Ptolemy, who courts the friendship of Pyrrhus.*
- III. *A digression about the kingdom and kings of Epire. The various fortune of Pyrrhus.*

C H A P. I.

MUCH about this time there was an earthquake in the regions near the Hellespont and the Chersonese. Lyfimachia, a city built two and twenty years before by Lyfimachus, was totally overthrown. This dreadful omen forboded dismal things to Lyfimachus and his family, as the destruction of his kingdom, and the desolation of the harassed provinces round about him. Nor was the prodigy unfulfilled; for in a short time after he poisoned his son Agathocles, (whom he had appointed to succeed him in the kingdom, and by whom he had carried on several wars with honour and success) by means of his step-mother, not only forgetting the father, but putting off the man. This was the first step to his ruin, the beginning of his misfortunes: for this murder was followed with that of several noblemen whom he sacrificed to his revenge, because they lamented the fate of the young prince; wherefore both those who survived this slaughter, and the commanders of his armies, revolted very fast from him to Seleucus, and prevailed with that king, whose ambition made him inclinable enough to embark in such a design, to declare war against Lyfimachus. This was the last dispute that happened betwixt the fellow soldiers of Alexander, and was reserved, as it were, by fortune for an example. Lyfimachus was seventy and four,

four, Seleucus seventy seven ; but at this great age each of them had youthful spirits, and was intoxicated with an insatiable lust of power : for tho' they two alone enjoyed the whole world, yet they thought themselves confined within very narrow bounds, and they measured their lives, not by the years they had lived, but by the accessions they had made to their empire.

C H A P. II. In that war Lyfimachus, after he had lost by various misfortunes fifteen children, dying with no small bravery, was superadded as the last heap to the ruin of his family. Seleucus, overjoyed at so great a victory, and what he thought more than a victory, his being the only one of all Alexander's friends that was left, boasts that this was brought about, not by human means, but divine assistance, little foreseeing that he himself was in a short time to be an example of the uncertainty of human affairs : for after seven months were expired, he was perfidiously murdered by Ptolemy, whose sister he had married ; and thus not only lost the kingdom of Macedonia, which he had taken from Lyfimachus, but his life also. Ptolemy being in high esteem with the people, both for the sake of his father, Ptolemy the Great, whose memory was still dear to them, and for the reputation he had acquired by revenging the cause of Lyfimachus, first resolves to engage the sons of Lyfimachus in his interest, and for this end asks their mother Arsinoe in marriage, promising to adopt them for his sons, that upon his succeeding their father in the throne, they might not dare to attempt any thing against him, either out of reverence to their mother, or regard to the name of father. He desires too, by letter, an agreement with his brother, the king of Egypt ; declaring that he laid aside all resentment for being deprived by him of his father's kingdom, and that he would not any longer seek that from a brother which he had more honourably got from his father's enemy. And with all his art flatters Eumenes and Antigonus, the sons of Demetrius, and Antiochus, the son of Seleucus, with whom he was like to have a war, lest a third enemy should join against him. But neither was Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, neglected, who

was of very great consideration to which side soever he turned; and who, having entertained hopes of stripping them all, offered himself to all parties. Wherefore, being resolved to assist the Tarentines against the Romans, he borrows of Antigonus ships to transport his army into Italy, money from Antiochus, who was better furnished with wealth than men, and from Ptolemy some Macedonian troops. But Ptolemy, who could not put any colour upon his delay, upon pretence that he wanted them himself, sent five thousand foot, four thousand horse, and fifty elephants, for the space of two years service, and no longer. To return these obligations, Pyrrhus espouses Ptolemy's daughter, leaves him the guardian of his kingdom in his absence, and makes peace with all his neighbours, that he might not leave his kingdom exposed to his enemies, by carrying all the flower of his men into Italy.

CHAP. III. But since we have mentioned E-pire, it will not be amiss to say a little about the first rise of that kingdom. The kingdom of the Molossi was the first in that country. Afterwards Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles, having lost his father's kingdom, during his absence at the Trojan war, settled in those parts, the inhabitants of which were first called Pyrrhi-dæ, and afterwards Epirotæ. Now Pyrrhus coming into the temple of Dodonian Jove to consult him, carried off from thence by force Larassa, the grand-daughter of Hercules, by the marriage of whom he had eight children. His daughters he disposed of in marriage to the neighbouring kings, and made himself very strong by those alliances. He gave to Helenus, the son of king Priam, the kingdom of Chaonia, for his singular industry, and Andromache, the widow of Hector, for wife, whom he himself had received in marriage in the division of the Trojan spoil; and a short time after he perished at Delphi, by the perfidy of Orestes, the son of Agamemnon, and at the altars of the gods. His son Pyralis succeeded him. After that the kingdom devolved, by order of succession, upon Arrybas, to whom, being the only one left of that noble family, and an orphan, tutors were assigned by the public appointment for

for the care of his education and his protection. Being sent to Athens to be trained up in the sciences, he was as much more acceptable to his people than his ancestors, as he was more learned than them. He was the first that established laws and a senate, yearly magistrates, and a regular form of government. And as Pyrrhus had procured them a settlement, so Arrybas introduced politeness among them. Neoptolemus was his son, of whom descended Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great, and Alexander, who, after him, had the kingdom of Epirus, and died in a war carried on by him in Italy against the Brutians. After his death his brother Æacides succeeded in the kingdom, who, by wearying his people with continual wars against the Macedonians, contracted the dislike of his subjects, and being banished on that account, left Pyrrhus, his only son, in his kingdom, very young, who was likewise, through hatred to his father, sought after by the people to be put to death; but being privately conveyed away into Illyrium, was committed to the care of Beroa, wife to king Glaucus, who was herself too of the family of the Æacidæ. There the king, either moved by compassion of his hard fortune, or charmed by the caresses of the infant, protected him a long time against Cassander, king of Macedonia, who demanded him with menaces of war; adding likewise, for his further security, the favour of adoption. This made such an impression upon the Epirotæ, that their hatred was changed into pity, and they recalled him into his kingdom at eleven years of age, giving him guardians that were to manage the public affairs till he came of age. Afterwards, whilst he was yet young, he waged many wars, and, by a continued train of success, became so considerable, that he alone was looked upon as capable of protecting the Tarentines against the Romans.

BOOK XVIII.

A SUMMARY of the CHAPTERS.

- I. *Pyrrhus assists the Tarentines against the Romans. Valerius Lævinus fights him, and is defeated.*
- II. *The Romans dismiss the Carthaginian troops. A peace is concluded with Pyrrhus. He possesses himself of Sicily.*
- III. *A digression about the origin of Carthage, and also of Sidon and Tyre.*
- IV. *Elissa, otherwise called Dido, privately departs from her brother Pygmalion.*
- V. *Lands at Cyprus, afterwards is driven upon the coasts of Afric, and builds Carthage.*
- VI. *She lays violent hands upon herself. The inhuman superstition of the Carthaginians.*
- VII. *The overthrow of the Carthaginians in Sardinia. The cruelty of Mælus to his son Cartalo, and his tragical end.*

CHAP. I.

PYRRHUS, king of Epirus, being importuned by frequent embassies from the Tarentines, to which were added the intreaties of the Samnites and Lucanians, who likewise desired assistance from him against the Romans, was induced, not so much by the solicitations of these people, as by the hopes of making himself absolute master of Italy, to promise to come with an army. His inclinations being once turned that way, the examples of his ancestors began to drive him fast into it, being resolved not to make a more inconsiderable figure in the world than Alexander his uncle, who had formerly defended the same Tarentines against the Brutians; nor appear inferior to Alexander the Great, who, making a long and remote excursion from his native country, brought the East under subjection to

to him. Wherefore, his son Ptolemy being left guardian of his kingdom, tho' but fifteen years old, he lands his army in the harbour of Tarentum, having taken along with him his two sons, Alexander and Helenus, for a consolation to him in this foreign expedition. Upon hearing of his arrival, the Roman consul, Valerius Læonius, in all haste draws forth his army into the field, that he might bring him to a battle before he was joined by his allies. Nor did the king decline an engagement, tho' he was inferior in numbers; but the appearance of the elephants, to which they had not before been used, first struck the Romans, who as yet had the better, with amazement, and afterwards made them quit the field: so that these monstrous animals of the Macedonians all on a sudden conquered the conquerors. But the enemy had a costly victory; for both Pyrrhus himself was grievously wounded, and a great part of his army put to the sword; so that his joy for this victory was less than his glory. Many cities, following the success of this battle, surrender themselves to Pyrrhus. Among the rest the city of Locri betrays the Roman garison, and revolts to Pyrrhus. Out of the booty Pyrrhus sent back to Rome, without any ransom, two hundred soldiers who were taken prisoners, that the Romans, after they had proved his courage, might likewise have an example of his generosity. Then, some days after, when the army of the allies was come up, he again engaged with the Romans, in which his success was not different from that in the former battle.

CHAP. II. In the mean time Mago, the Carthaginian general, being sent to the assistance of the Romans with an hundred and twenty ships, went to the senate, and declared, that the Carthaginians bore it with no small concern, that they should be distressed in Italy by a foreign prince; for which reason they had sent him, that as they were attacked by a foreign force, so they might be assisted by a foreign power. Thanks were returned to the Carthaginians by the senate, and the auxiliaries sent back. But Mago, with Carthaginian cunning, goes privately to Pyrrhus as a mediator

mediator from the Carthaginians, but in reality to found his intentions with relation to Sicily; for there was a report that he was sent for by the inhabitants of that island. The Carthaginians sent assistance to the Romans for this reason, that Pyrrhus might be kept from passing into Sicily by a war against the Romans in Italy. In the mean time Fabricius Lucinus being sent ambassador by the Roman senate, made peace with Pyrrhus. Cineas being sent to Rome by Pyrrhus to ratify this treaty with great presents, found none who would give them admittance into their houses. There was a like instance of the Roman moderation at the same time; for the ambassadors who were sent by the senate to king Ptolemy in Egypt, refused the presents which that king offered them; and some few days after this had happened, they were invited to a splendid entertainment, and presented with crowns of gold, which they then received in compliment to his majesty, but placed next day upon the statues of the king. Wherefore, when Cineas brought word to Pyrrhus that the peace with the Romans was embarrassed by the conduct of Appius Claudius, being asked by Pyrrhus what sort of a city Rome was, he answered, it appeared to him a city of kings. After this the ambassadors of Sicily came and delivered up the dominion of the whole Island to Pyrrhus, which had been extremely harassed by continual wars with the Carthaginians. Wherefore, leaving his son Alexander at Locri, and the cities of his allies well secured by strong garisons, he transported his army into Sicily.

CHAP. III. Having mentioned the Carthaginians, it is proper to say something of their original, and for that effect we must trace them back to their founders the Tyrians, who were a very unfortunate people. The nation of the Tyrians was founded by the Phœnicians, who being harassed by earthquakes, left their country, and settled first nigh the Assyrian lake, and soon after upon the sea coast, building a city there, which, from the plenty of fish, they called Sidon. Many years after, being conquered by the king of the Ascalonians, getting away by their ships, they built the city

city Tyre, before the taking of Troy. Then being fatigued by long and various wars with the Persians, they were indeed victorious, but their strength being impaired, they suffered a most base treatment from their slaves, who were now grown very numerous. For they entering into a conspiracy, kill all their masters, and, in short, all who were free, and possessing themselves of the city, seize upon the houses of their masters, took upon them the government, marry their wives, and beget what they themselves were not, freemen. Among so many thousands, there was one slave of a milder disposition, who compassionated the hard fortune of his aged master, and his little son, and treated them, not with brutal violence, but humanity and pity. Wherefore having put them out of the way, as if they had been slain; when the slaves came to deliberate about the state of their government, and were at last resolved to elect a king out of their own body, and to make choice of him, as most acceptable to the gods, who should first discover the rising sun; he acquaints his master Strato, whom he had hid, with this determination; and being instructed by him, after they were all come about midnight into one plain, the rest looking towards the east, he alone looked toward the west. This was thought madness by the rest, to look for the rising sun in the west: but when day began to advance, and the sun began to gild the highest eminences of the city, whilst others were waiting to see the sun himself, he first shewed them all the sun-shine upon the towers and pinnacles of the city. This seemed to be above the reach of a slave's invention; and upon their desiring to know his instructor, he confessed that he had learned it of his master. Then it appeared how much the genius of freemen excelled that of slaves, and how much the latter might surpass the other in wickedness, though not in wisdom. Wherefore a pardon was granted the old man and his son; and they thinking them saved by the favour of some god, made Strato king. After his death, the kingdom descended to his son, and so to his posterity. This villainy of the slaves was every where taken notice of, and apprehended
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to be a dreadful precedent; wherefore Alexander the Great, when some time after he carried on his wars in the east, as if he had been a revenger for the public security of mankind, after he had taken their city, he crucified all those who survived the war, in memory of this detestable massacre. He only saved the family of Strato unviolated, and restored the crown to his posterity, and peopled the island with new inhabitants, born free, and not guilty of any crimes; that the race of slaves being totally extirpated, the city might be raised from quite a new stock.

CHAP. IV. The Tyrians being, by the directions of Alexander, new founded, quickly became considerable by their frugality and industry. Before the murder of their masters by the slaves, being rich and numerous, they had sent a colony into Africa, and built Utica; during which, their king Matgo died at Tyre, leaving Pygmalion his son, and his daughter Elissa, a virgin of singular beauty, his heirs. The people put the government into the hands of Pygmalion, when he was but a boy. Elissa married her uncle Acerbas, priest of Hercules, which was the next dignity to that of king. He had prodigious concealed wealth: he did not keep it in his house, but he had buried his gold, for fear of the king, in the earth. This, though no one knew the matter certainly, common fame buzz'd about; which excited the avarice of Pygmalion to such a degree, that forgetting the laws of humanity, he murdered his uncle and son-in-law, without any regard to natural affection. Elissa could not endure her brother on this account for a long time: and at last, concealing her resentment, and assuming a chearful look, she privately contrived how to make her escape, imparting her design to some of the leading men in the city, who she thought had the same aversion to the king, and an equal desire of getting out of his reach. Then she accosts her brother in this cunning manner. She pretends that she had a strong inclination to remove to his palace, that her husband's house might no more revive in her, who was desirous to forget him, the remembrance of her former grief, nor the dismal vestiges
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of his memory any more occur to her eyes. Pygmalion heard these words of his sister with joy, imagining that Acerbas's gold would come along with her to him: but Elissa, about twilight, puts the servants he sent to assist her in her removal, with all her riches, aboard some ships; and launching out into the main, makes them throw into the sea loads of sand wrapt in covers: then crying and invoking Acerbas with a mournful voice, she begs he would favourably receive his riches, and accept of them as a funeral oblation, which had been the cause of his massacre. Then she addressed the servants, and says, that she had formerly wished for death, but that cruel torments awaited them from the tyrant, who had disappointed his avarice of those treasures, in hopes of getting which, he had committed parricide. This speech struck such terror into them all, that they were very glad to accompany her in her expedition. Several bodies of the senators, who were ready against that night, having offered a sacrifice to Hercules, whose priest Acerbas had been, seek a new habitation by voluntary exile.

CHAP. V. The Isle of Cyprus was the first place of their landing, where the priest of Jupiter, with his wife and children, by the admonition of the gods, joined himself to Elissa, as the partner of her fortune; stipulating the perpetual honour of the priesthood to himself, and his descendants. This offer was taken for a clear omen of good success. It was a custom among the Cyprians, to send their young women, before their marriage, upon certain days, to the sea-shore, to purchase themselves portions by prostitution, and to make oblations to Venus for their future chastity. Wherefore about fourscore virgins of this number being seized, are, by Elissa's orders, carried aboard her ships, that her men might have wives, and people her city. In the mean time, Pygmalion having got notice of his sister's flight, prepared to pursue her with impious war; but he was dissuaded from it by the entreaties of his mother, and the threats of the gods: for the prophets told him that he should not escape unpunished, if he went about to hinder the raising of a city, which should
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one day become the greatest in the world. By this means, the fugitives had some respite: so that Elissa arriving in a bay of Africa, engages the inhabitants of the place, who were glad to see strangers, and desirous to barter commodities with them, in her interest; and then purchasing as much ground as could be covered by an ox's hide, where she might refresh her fatigued companions, 'till she could conveniently go away, she ordered the hide to be cut into very small parts, and thus covers a greater compass of ground than she had apparently demanded; whence that place took the name of Byrsa. Then the neighbours flocking in, to sell many things to the strangers, in hopes of gain, took up their habitations with them, and thus formed the face of a city. Embassadors from Utica likewise brought presents to them, as to their relations, and encouraged them to build a city there, where they had made this occasional descent. The Africans too had a great inclination to detain the strangers; wherefore all agreeing in the point, Carthage is built, an annual tribute being fixed for the ground on which it was planted. In digging the foundations of this city, an ox's head was found, which was indeed a presage of a fruitful country, but of a city that would be forced to labour hard, and always continue in a state of slavery; for which reason, the city was removed to another place. There too an horse's head being found, which was an omen that the people would be warlike and powerful, and consequently portended a lucky situation to this city; and therefore the neighbouring nations, invited by their good opinion of it, crowded into this new city, so that in a little time, both the buildings were greatly increased, and the people grown very numerous.

CHAP. VI. The Carthaginians being now powerful, and in a flourishing condition by their success, Hiarbas king of the Maxitarians sending for ten of the chief men of Carthage to him, asked Elissa in marriage, threatening to carry war into their territories, if he was refused. They fearing to tell the queen this message directly, used the Carthaginian cunning with her, telling her, that the king desired some one to instruct him
and

and his Africans in a more polite way of life ; but who would consent to leave their relations, and go to barbarians, who lived in such a savage manner ? Then being rebuked by the queen for refusing a hard life for the benefit of their country, to which they owed their very life itself, if occasion required, they discovered the king's message, saying, she herself must do what she enjoined others, if she would secure her city. Being taken in by this subtle contrivance, after she had for some time called upon the name of her husband Acerbas, with many tears, and much lamentation, she at last replied, that she would go whither the fate of her city called her. Taking three months for this purpose, she erected a pile in the remotest part of the city, she killed many sacrifices, as if she intended to appease the ghost of her husband, and make her propitiatory offerings to him, before she married ; and taking a sword, she mounts the pile, and then looking back to the people, said, that she would go to her husband, as they had ordered her ; and so put an end to her life with this sword. As long as Carthage remained unconquer'd, she was adored as a goddess. This city was built seventy two years before Rome ; and as the bravery of its inhabitants made it famous in war abroad, so was its inward peace disturbed by various civil feuds and commotions. When among other calamities, they were infested by a pestilence, they had recourse to a most bloody execrable piece of superstition. For they sacrificed men as victims, and brought children (whose ages to move the compassion even of enemies) to the altars, and supplicated the favour of the gods with the blood of those innocents, for whose preservation the gods used chiefly to be worshipped by other nations.

CHAP. VII. Wherefore drawing the indignation of the gods upon them by such an abominable deed after they had fought successfully for a long time in Sicily, the seat of the war being removed into Sardinia they were routed in a great battle, and lost the greater part of their army. For this reason they sentenced to banishment their general Malchus, under whose conduct they had conquered a great part of Sicily, and per-
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formed several glorious exploits against the Africans, and with him the remainder of the army that was left alive. The soldiers resenting this heinously, send deputies to Carthage, to insist, in the first place, on their return, and their pardon for their bad fortune in the war; and then to declare, that what they could not obtain by entreaties, they would force by their arms. Both the prayers and threats of the deputies being slighted, some days after, going aboard their ships, they come armed to the city, and there call gods and men to witness, that they came not to destroy, but to recover their native country; and to shew their countrymen, that not their valour, but their fortune only had failed them in the former war. Cutting off all supplies from the town, and closely besieging it, they reduced the Carthaginians to the utmost despair. In the mean time, Cartalo, the son of Malchus the exiled general, returning from Tyre to his father's camp, whither he had been sent by the Carthaginians to carry the tithes of the Sicilian plunder to Hercules, which his father had taken; and being sent for by his father, he return'd this answer, that he would perform the duties of publick religion before those of a more private nature and obligation. Tho' his father was highly offended at this reply, yet he durst not offer any violence to his son in his sacred character. Some days after, Cartalo having asked liberty from the people to go, returning to his father, and appearing before all the people, dressed in scarlet, and bedecked with the ribbands of his priestly office, his father took him aside, and said, How durst thou, most unnatural villain, come into the presence of so many of thy miserable countrymen, dressed up with these golden trappings, and enter, as it were in triumph, this sad and mournful camp, with all the badges of peaceful prosperity about thee? Couldst thou shew thy finery no where else? Was there no fitter place for displaying this magnificence, than this, where thou canst behold nothing but the miseries of thy father, and all the marks of distressful banishment? Why should I mention it, that not many days ago, when I sent for thee, thou didst insolently despise, I will not say thy
I father,

father, but the general of thy country? Besides, what else does thou bear about with thee in that purp and those crowns, but the titles of my victories? wherefore since you acknowledge nothing in thy father but the name of an exile, I shall consider myself as a general more than a father, and will make an example of thee, that no son may hereafter dare to make sport of the misfortunes of a father. And accordingly he commanded him, with all his pageantry, to be nailed to a very high cross, in the sight of the city. A few days after, he took Carthage, and assembling the people, he complained of the injustice of his banishment, pled the necessity of making war; and tells them, that being content with his victory, and with the punishment of those who had been the authors of their country's misery, he gave a free pardon for this infamous banishment to all the rest. And accordingly ten senators being put to death, he restored the city to its former constitution and laws. And not long after, being accused of aspiring to the sovereignty, he was justly punished for his double parricide. Mago succeeded him as general, by whose industry the Carthaginians were raised considerably in power, wealth, and military glory.

B O O K XIX.

A SUMMARY of the CHAPTERS.

- I. *Hasdrubal and Amilcar succeed Mago the general of the Carthaginians. Hasdrubal dies in Sardinia. The Sicilian war, and embassy of the Persians.*
- II. *The total overthrow of the Carthaginian army in Sicily.*
- III. *Imilco, the commander of these forces, returns to Carthage, and kills himself in a desperate fit.*

C H A P. I.

MAGO the Carthaginian general, who was the first that, by introducing military discipline into his country, laid the foundations of the Carthaginian power; after having improved the strength of that state, no less by cultivating the art of war, than by his valour, died, leaving two sons behind him, Asdrubal and Hamilcar, who pursuing the steps of their father, were heirs to his greatness and bravery, as well as to his fortune. They commanded in chief in the Sardinian wars; and in that against the Africans likewise, occasioned by their demanding the ground-rent of their city, as due for many years. But as the cause of the Africans was more just, so their success was better; and the war was not ended by arms, but by the payment of the money. Asdrubal being wounded, died, and left the command of the army to his brother. The general grief for him throughout the city, his eleven Dictatorships and four triumphs, rendered his death remarkable: And the courage of the enemy grew upon it, as if the spirit of the Carthaginians had expired with their general. Wherefore the people of Sicily, harassed by the continual depredations of the Carthaginians, flying to Leonidas, brother to the king of the Spartans, for assistance; a war broke out, which continued for a long time, with various success. During these transactions, ambassadors came from Darius king of the Persians, to Carthage, who brought an edict, forbidding the Carthaginians to offer human sacrifices, and eat dog's flesh; and commanding them not to bury their dead in the earth, but to burn them: and at the same time they begged their assistance against Greece, upon which Darius was about to make war. But the Carthaginians refusing their last request, on account of the wars they were engaged in with their neighbours, that they might not appear resolved to grant them nothing, they readily complied with the king's pleasure in the rest.

CHAP. II. In the mean time, Hamilcar was killed in the war of Sicily, leaving three sons, Imilco, Hanno, and Gisco. Hasdrubal also had the same number of sons, Hannibal, Hasdrubal, and Sappho. They had, at this time, the management of the Carthaginian affairs. They made war upon the Mauritanians and Numidians, and compelled the Africans to give up to the Carthaginians their pretensions to a tribute for the ground-rent of their city. But such a numerous family of commanders being dangerous to a free state, because they managed and determined every thing as they pleased, an hundred judges were chosen out of the senators, who, upon the return of the general from the war, should call them to account for their conduct; that by this check they might be awed into a regard to justice, and the laws of their country, in the exercise of their command in war. In Sicily, Imilco succeeded as general to Hamilcar; who after having obtained several victories, both by land and sea, and reduced many cities, had, at last, the misfortune on a sudden to lose his army by a pestilence. When this news came to Carthage, the city mourned, and all places rung with lamentations, as if it had been surprized by an enemy: private houses were shut up; nay, all the temples of the gods too; and all religious ceremonies, and all private offices were suspended. Then they all crowd to the harbour, and enquire after their friends, of those few that had survived the calamity, as they came ashore. But when they who were as yet not without hopes, and in suspense between fear and expectation, were assured of the misfortunes of their relations; then were heard every where the groans of an afflicted people, the mournful howlings and complaints of unhappy mothers.

CHAP. III. In this general confusion, the poor general lands in a fordid habit, like that which slaves wear, and at the sight of him the mourning crowd gathered round him. He, lifting up his hands to heaven, sometimes bewailed his own fate, and sometimes the publick misfortune; and sometimes he accused the gods for taking from him the honour of so many glorious achieve-

achievements in the war, and the trophies of so many victories, which they themselves had given him, and destroying a gallant army, that had taken so many cities, and routed its enemies so often by sea and land, not by war, but a plague. However, this consolation he brought to his countrymen, that the enemy might rejoice, but could not glory in their calamity; since they could not pretend that they had slain those who fell, or driven back those that were returned: that the booty they had found in their abandoned camp, could not be pointed out by them as the spoil of a conquered enemy, but such as had fallen into their hands by the accidental deaths of the owners, none being left to claim it: that as to the enemy, they had come off conquerors; and it was by the plague only, that they were conquered. Yet what grieved him to the heart was, that he could not die with those brave men, and was preserved, not to enjoy the pleasures of life, but to be the sport of cruel destiny. But since he had brought the wretched remains of his troops to Carthage, he was determined to follow his deceased soldiers, and to convince the world, that the reason why he lived to this day, was, not that he was fond of living, but because he would not, by his death, betray those whom the pestilence had spared, by leaving them amidst their enemies. Marching thro' the town with this lamentation, when he came to the entry of his own house, he dismissed the crowd that attended him, as if it was the last time he should speak to them: then shutting himself up, and not so much as suffering his children to come near him, he put an end to his days.

B O O K XX.

A SUMMARY of the CHAPTERS.

I. *Dionysius, tyrant of Sicily, makes war upon the inhabitants of Magna Græcia in Italy.*

II. *The original and history of the Metapontines.*

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III. *The*

III. *The wars between the Locri and the people of Crotona.*

IV. *Pythagoras the philosopher persuades the people of Crotona to frugality and abstinence.*

V. *Dionysius defeats the Locrensiens. Is obliged by Hanno to leave his foreign conquests to come home, where he was slain by his own subjects.*

C H A P. I.

Dionysius, having driven the Carthaginians out of Sicily, and made himself master of the island, thinking that peace and want of action would be dangerous to his kingdom, the army being great, transported his forces into Italy, that his soldiers might be whetted by perpetual employ, and that he might enlarge his dominions. His first expedition was against the Greeks that possessed the neighbouring shores of Italy; and these being conquered, he attacks their neighbours; and marks out to himself, as enemies to be subdued, all those of Grecian extraction, that inhabited any part of Italy; which nation, at that time, had got possession, not of a part only, but of almost all Italy. In fine, many cities, at this very day, after such a long tract of years, still shew some remainder of the Greek manners. For the Tuscans, whose coast is washed by the lower sea, came from Lydia; and Troy, when taken, sent thither the Veneti, whom we see border upon the upper sea, under Antenor, as their leader. Adria too, nigh the Illyrian sea, which gave name to the Adriatick sea, is a Grecian city: and Arpi was built by Diomedes, who, after the destruction of Troy, was shipwreck'd upon that coast. Pisa in Liguria was likewise founded by the Grecians. So was Tarquinii in the Tuscan country built by the Thessalians, and Spina in the Umbrian territory. The Perusians too are descended from the Achæans. Why should I mention the city of Ceres, or the Latins, who were planted by Æneas? Now the Falisci, the Nolans, the Abeillans, are they not colonies from Chalcis? What is all the country of Campania, the Brutians, the Samnites, the Tarentines?

Tarentines? did they not come originally from Lacedæmon? and were they not formerly called Spurii? 'Tis reported that Philoctetes built the city of the Thuriini, whose monument is preserved there to this day; as are the arrows of Hercules, which were so fatal to Troy, in the temple of Apollo.

CHAP. II. The Metapontines also shew, in the temple of Minerva, the tools with which Epeas their founder made the Trojan horse: for which reason, all that part of Italy was called the larger Greece. But at first, the Metapontines, with the Sibaritanians, and the Crotonians, designed to drive the rest of the Greeks out of Italy. When they first took the city of Siris, in storming it, they killed fifty young men that embraced the statue of Minerva, and the priest of this goddess, in his pontifical habit, before the altar. Being punished for this with famine and seditions, the inhabitants of Crotona sent first to consult the oracle at Delphos. Answer was made to them, that a period would soon be put to their calamities, if they appeased the anger of offended Minerva, and the manes of the slain. Wherefore when they had begun to make statues for the young men, of a proper size, and an extraordinary one for Minerva, the Metapontines being informed of the answer of the gods, thought it expedient to get the start of them, in procuring reconciliation with the goddess and the ghosts; and for this effect, they erect moderate statues of stone to the young men, and make a propitiatory offering of cakes to the goddess. And thus the plague was stayed in both places; while one people shewed their zeal by their magnificence, and the other by their expedition. After they had thus recovered their health, the Crotonians were not long quiet; for being angry that assistance had been furnished against them by the Locrians, in the siege of Siris, they declared war against them. The Locrians being frightened, apply to the Spartans, and humbly importune assistance from them. But they having no inclination to engage in so distant an expedition, bid them go to Castor and Pollux for assistance. Neither did the ambassadors despise this advice that was given them by their allies;

but going immediately into the next temple, and offering sacrifice, they implore the assistance of the gods. Their victims appearing favourable, and having obtained, as they thought, what they had desired, being no less glad, than if they had carried these gods home with them, they made beds for them in the ships, and setting sail with lucky omens, they brought consolation instead of aid to their countrymen.

CHAP. III. When these things were known by the Crotonians, they too sent to the oracle at Delphos, to desire victory, and a prosperous issue to the war. Answer was made to them, that their enemies were to be conquered by vows, before they could be conquer'd by arms. When they had vowed the tenths of the spoil to Apollo, the people of Locri understanding what vow their enemies had made, and what answer the god had given, they vowed a ninth part, but kept the matter secret, that others might not out-do them. Wherefore, after they had come into the field, and a hundred and twenty thousand of the Crotonians stood in battle array against them, the Locrians considering the smallness of their number, (for they had only fifteen thousand) despairing of victory, resolve upon a resolute death; and with so much courage did their despair inspire them, that they thought they should be conquerors, if they did not fall unrevenge'd: but whilst they bravely fought to die, they happily got the better. And, indeed, their conquest was entirely owing to their despair of it. While the Locrians were engaged, an eagle was observed to hover about them, and it never left them 'till they had obtained a compleat victory. Two young men, of an extraordinary stature, and differently armed from the rest, and cloathed in red robes, were seen to fight upon white horses in the wings; nor did they appear after the battle was over. The incredible swiftness of fame increased this miracle; for the same day that the battle was fought in Italy, the news of the victory arrived at Corinth, Athens, and Lacedemon.

CHAP. IV. After this defeat the Crotonians laid aside arms, and took their leave of military exercises; for

for they hated those arms they had so unfortunately taken up, and would soon have left their present way of living, and fallen into luxury, had not Pythagoras been there. He was a native of Samos, the son of Demaratus, a rich merchant, and being adorned with the highest improvements of wisdom, he went into Egypt, and from thence to Babylon, to learn astronomy, and instruct himself in the origin of the universe, and had there attained to very great knowledge. In his return he visited Crete and Lacedemon, to inform himself in the laws of Minos and Lycurgus, which were then very famous. With all these ornaments of science he came to Crotona, and recovered, by his authority, the people falling into luxury, to a temperate and frugal life. He every day recommended virtue to them, and set before them the fatal consequences of luxury, from the examples of several states that had been ruined by its contagion ; and raised in the people such a love of frugality, that any customs of luxury among them were reckoned incredible. He frequently gave instructions to the matrons separately from the men, and to children apart from their parents. He taught the one chastity and submission to their husbands, and the others modesty, and love of letters ; and to all he principally recommended frugality as the mother of all the virtues ; and indeed he had such influence upon them by his assiduity in inculcating this doctrine, that the matrons laid aside their embroidery and other ornaments, as instruments of luxury, and bringing them into Juno's temple, consecrated them to that goddess, declaring that chastity, and not fine apparel, was a matron's best ornament. And what effect his precepts had upon the young men, may be conjectured from the mighty influence they had over the more stubborn and obstinate sex. But three hundred of the young men, uniting together by an oath of fraternity, lived a separate life among themselves from the rest of the citizens, and thereby raised a jealousy in the rest, as if they were contriving some conspiracy against the state in private ; for which reason they resolved to burn them at their first meeting. In this tumult about sixty

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perished :

perished ; the rest went into banishment. But Pythagoras, after he had spent twenty years at Crotona, removed to Metapontus, and there died. So greatly was he admired, that they made a temple of his house, and worshipped him for a god.

C H A P. V. Wherefore Dionysius, who, as we have already related, had carried an army from Sicily into Italy, and made war upon the Greeks, after he had taken Locri, falls upon the Crotonians, who had hardly recovered their strength by a long peace. But tho' their troops were few, they made a more vigorous resistance to this great army than formerly, when they had so many thousands in the field against a smaller number of Locrians. So much has poverty the ascendant over insolent riches, and so much more sure sometimes is an unexpected than an expected victory. But the ambassadors of the Gauls, who had burnt Rome some months before, came to Dionysius as he was carrying on the war, desiring his assistance and a confederacy with him. They protest that their country was situated in the middle of his enemies, and that their troops might be of great service to him, either in the field, or to annoy his enemies, when engaged, in the rear. The embassy was very acceptable to Dionysius, and being reinforced by these auxiliaries from Gaul, he began the war, as it were, afresh. The reason why these Gauls sought new habitations abroad, and made a descent into Italy, was their being molested at home by intestine feuds. Being tired with these, after they came into Italy they drove the Tuscans out of their old seats, and built Mediolanum, Comus, Etruria, Verona, Bergomum, Tridentum, and Vicenza. The Tuscans, having lost their old country, possessed themselves of the Alps, under the command of their general Rhoetus, from whom the nation of the Rhoetians derived their name. But the arrival of the Carthaginians obliged Dionysius to return into Sicily, who, having recruited their army, prosecuted the war, which they had abandoned on account of the plague, with redoubled vigour. Hanno, the Carthaginian, was commander in chief in this war, whose adversary Su-

nictus,

niatus, who was at that time the most powerful man in Carthage, out of mere hatred to him, gave notice to Dionysius before-hand of the coming of the army, and the cowardice of the general, by a letter written in the Greek language. The letter being intercepted, he was condemned as guilty of treachery; and a decree of the senate was hereupon passed, that for the future no Carthaginian should apply himself to the Greek literature or language, to the end that none might be capable of conversing or writing to the enemy without an interpreter. Not long after Dionysius, whose ambition a little before neither Italy nor Sicily could satiate, being reduced to a very low estate by his continual wars, was at last slain by his own treacherous subjects.

BOOK XXI.

A SUMMARY of the CHAPTERS.

- I. *The tyrannical government of Dionysius the younger.*
- II. *His luxury, craft, cruelty, and banishment, and his oppression of the Locrians.*
- III. *He plunders them by a cunning device, and recovers Syracuse by treachery.*
- IV. *The tragical end of Hanno, who endeavoured to usurp the sovereignty at Carthage.*
- V. *Dionysius the younger is turned out of Sicily. He resides at Corinth.*
- VI. *Hamilcar is ingratfully and basely put to death by the Carthaginians.*

CHAP. I.

AFTER Dionysius the tyrant was thus taken off in Sicily, the army set up in his room the eldest of his sons, Dionysius by name, both because the law of nature recommends this succession, and because they thought that the kingdom would be stronger if govern-

ed by one, than if it were divided into little parcels among several sons. But Dionysius, in the beginning of his reign, was very desirous to have the uncles of his brothers removed out of the way, looking upon them as his rivals in the kingdom, and encouragers of the boys to insist upon a partition. But, hiding his inclinations, he first endeavoured to ingratiate himself with the people, thinking what he was about to do would be more easily excused, if it was before-hand approved of by all. Wherefore he enlarges three thousand prisoners, and remits the taxes to the people for three years, and tried to gain their affections by all the popular arts he could invent; and then, setting about the execution of his premeditated villainy, he not only kills the relations of his brothers, but them too. And thus he did not suffer those who ought to have shared the kingdom with him so much as to share the air with him, beginning his cruelty upon his own kindred before he exercised it upon strangers.

CHAP. II. His competitors being now taken out of his way, abandoning himself to sloth, he became excessively corpulent by his luxury, and contracted a distemper in his eyes, so that he could not bear the sun, nor the dust, nor indeed common light. For which reasons, suspecting that he was contemned by his subjects, he practised all manner of cruelty against them; neither did he, like his father, fill the prisons with persons in chains, but the city with slaughter; for all which he was not merely contemptible, but odious to all the world. So when the Syracusans had resolved to make war against him, he was long in suspense whether he should resign the government, or make opposition to them by war; but he was forced by the army, who hoped for great booty in the plunder of the city, to march out to battle. Being defeated in this engagement, and likewise in another, which he would needs try, he sent ambassadors to the Syracusans to promise that he would lay down his usurped power, if they would send persons to him with such powers that he might conclude a peace with them. For that purpose some of the grandees being dispatched

to him, he claps them, who feared no hostility, into close prison, and sent his army to destroy the city unawares, and while it apprehended no danger. There was a long and dubious dispute in the city itself, but the other side being overpowered by the citizens in number, Dionysius was obliged to retire; and he, being apprehensive of the citadel's being besieged, privately fled into Italy. His old allies the Locrians received him in his exile, and he, as if he had a right to rule over them, seized upon their citadel, and exercised his usual cruelties upon them. He ordered the wives of the most eminent men to be ravished, he forced away young women just upon the point of their marriages, and having deflowered them, sent them back to their betrothed husbands. The richest citizens he either banished, or put to death, and took possession of their estates.

CHAP. III. When there was no more opportunity for rapine, he outreached the whole city by this cunning ruse. The Locrians being distressed in war by Leophron, the tyrant of Rhegium, had vowed, in case of victory, to prostitute all their virgins on the festivals of Venus; but neglecting to perform this vow, they had very bad success against the Lucanians. Upon this Dionysius calls them to an assembly, and advises them to send their wives and daughters into the temple of Venus dressed as fine as they could, out of which a hundred, chosen by lot, should fulfil the public vow, and in order to that should be obliged to continue one month in the stews, the men having all sworn before hand not to touch any of them; and that this might be no prejudice to the virgins who should thus discharge the city's vow, a decree should be passed, that no virgin should marry till these were first disposed of in marriage. This advice being agreed to, by which equal care was taken to give satisfaction to their superstition, and to secure the honour of their virgins, all the women thronged to the temple of Venus magnificently arrayed; and Dionysius thereupon sending in his soldiers, rifled them, and made plunder of all their finery. The rich husbands of some he killed, others he

he tortured, to make them to betray their husbands wealth. After he had reigned six years in this flagitious manner, being driven out of the city by a confederacy of the Locrians against him, he returned into Sicily. There, whilst all were free from any apprehension of danger, after a long interval of peace, he recovered Syracuse.

CHAP. IV. During these agitations in Sicily, in Africa, Hanno, a leading man among the Carthaginians, employs all his power, which was too strong for the republic, to make himself master of the sovereignty, and resolved to usurp the regal authority by killing the senate. For the execution of which villainy he chose the day of his daughter's wedding, that his wicked designs might be covered by the solemnity of that ceremony. And accordingly he prepares a feast for the common people in the public piazzas, and for the senators in his own house, that the cups being poisoned, he might take off the senate the more privately, and without any witnesses, and so be able to seize the more easily upon the government, its leaders being removed. But the whole plot being discovered to the magistrates by the slaves, the scheme was disappointed, but not punished, lest the affair, if it should be blazed abroad, should occasion more trouble than the mere design could do. Wherefore being content to frustrate it, they passed a law restricting the expences of marriage entertainments, and order that law to be obeyed, not by him alone, but universally, that it might not appear to have been particularly levelled against him, but for the reformation of a general abuse. Being prevented in this design, he tampered again with the slaves, and having fixed another day for the massacre, when he found himself again betrayed, apprehending a trial for it, he seized a certain strong castle with twenty thousand slaves in arms. Here, as he was endeavouring to engage the Africans and the king of Mauritania in his party, he is apprehended, and lashed with rods, his eyes put out, and his hands and legs broke, and, as if punishment was to be suffered by every member of his body, his mangled carcass was fastened to a cross. His

sons and relations, tho' innocent, were treated in the same manner, that none of so wicked a family might be left to imitate his wickedness, or to revenge his death.

CHAP. V. In the mean time Dionysius being received at Syracuse, becoming every day more insufferably cruel to the city, is beset by a new conspiracy. Then, laying down the government, he delivered up the citadel, with the army, to the Syracusans, and, taking his private furniture with him, retires in banishment to Corinth. There, looking upon the lowest kind of life as the safest, he lived in the poorest and most sordid manner. Not thinking it enough to stroll about in the streets, he would drink there too. And not satisfied to be seen in taverns and lewd houses, he would spend whole days in them, and wrangle with every scoundrel about the greatest trifles; would go dirty and tattered, and chose rather to be a joking-post to all the town than to laugh at others. He would loiter about the shambles, and devour with his eyes what he was not able to purchase, and jangle with pimps and bawds before the Ediles; and all this he did, that he might rather be contemned than feared. At last he set up for a schoolmaster, and taught children in the most public parts of the town, either that he might be always seen in the streets by those who feared him, or might be the more cheaply despised by those who did not. For tho' he still carried all the vices peculiar to tyrants along with him, yet this affectation of certain vices was not natural; and he did these things rather out of artifice, than because he had lost all sense of the modesty becoming a king, having found how odious the names of tyrants are when they want the power. Wherefore he endeavoured to take off the hatred he had drawn upon himself thro' his past conduct by the meanness of his present circumstances; and he did not think of honour, but of safety. Yet, notwithstanding all his labour to dissemble with the world, he was accused of aspiring to the sovereignty, and the despicableness of his person and fortune were his best protection against this charge.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI. During these transactions the Carthaginians, alarmed at the vast success of Alexander and fearing lest the ambition of adding Africa to the kingdom of the Persians should seize him, they send Hamilcar, by surname Rhodanus, a man remarkable for his address in the management of business, and for his eloquence above all the rest of the Carthaginians, to sound his intentions. For both the city Tyre, their mother, being taken, and the building of Alexandria for a rival to Carthage in the confines of Africa and Egypt, and the success of the king, whose ambition, as well as fortune, seemed to know no bounds, increased their fears. Wherefore Hamilcar, obtaining audience of the king by the means of Parmenio, and pretending that he was banished his own country, assured him he had fled to him for protection, and offers to serve him as a soldier in the expedition he was enterprizing. Having by this pretence discovered his intentions, he wrote an account of all to the Carthaginians upon wooden tablets, covered over with wax. But upon his return home after the king's decease the Carthaginians put him to death, as if he had offered to sell their city to that victorious prince, not only most ingratelully, but indeed most invidiously and cruelly.

B. O O K XXII.

A SUMMARY of the CHAPTERS.

- I. *The mean descent of Agathocles the Sicilian tyrant.*
- II. *By the assistance of Hamilcar he gets possession of Syracuse.*
- III. *The wars of Agathocles.*
- IV. *Syracuse being besieged by the Carthaginians, he removes the seat of the war into Afric.*
- V. *He lands his men there, and encourages them to fight.*
- VI. *He burns his own ships, defeats the Carthaginians, and takes several of their cities.*

VII. *The*

VII. *The Carthaginians obliged to quit Sicily, and are defeated by him in Afric. The tragical fate of Ophellas and Bomilcar.*

VIII. *Agathocles reduceth all Sicily. Returns into Africa, and is beaten. He makes a peace with the Carthaginians.*

CHAP. I.

Agathocles, the Sicilian tyrant, who succeeded to the greatness of the former Dionysius, attained to royal dignity from a mean and sordid extract. For being born in Sicily, and descended of a father who was a potter, his way of spending his youth was as mean as his origin. Since being singularly beautiful and handsome, he for a long while got his living by serving the infamous lusts of others. And when he was more advanced in years, he transferred his services from men to women. At last, becoming despicable with both sexes, he changed that way of life, and turned robber. Some time after, having retired to Syracuse, and being admitted a citizen there, he was long without any credit, because he seemed neither to have any fortune to lose, or character to forfeit. In fine, listing as a common soldier, his life being then no less seditious than infamous, he was ready to engage in any manner of villainy. For he was reckoned bold enough in action, and had a very ready tongue; wherefore in a short time he was preferred to be a centurion, and afterwards to be a tribune in the army. In the first war against the Ætneans he shewed noble specimens of his valour. In the following war of the Campanians he raised in all so great hopes of him, that he was elected to succeed Damascon deceased, whose wife he married, having had criminal familiarity with her during her husband's life. And not satisfied to have raised himself on a sudden from extreme poverty to great wealth, he turned pyrate against his own country. What saved him was, that his accomplices being taken and tortured, cleared him. He attempted twice to
seize

seize the government of Syracuse, and was as often banished.

CHAP. II. He was first made their prætor, and afterwards their general by the Murgantines, among whom he lived in his banishment, and that out of downright enmity to the Syracusans. In that war he took the city of the Leontines, and besieged his native city Syracuse; to whose assistance Hamilcar, general of the Carthaginians, being invited, laying aside the hatred of an enemy, sent relief. Thus at one and the same time Syracuse was defended by an enemy with the zeal of a citizen, and attacked by a citizen with the inveteracy of an enemy. But Agathocles seeing the city more bravely defended than attacked, employed deputies with Hamilcar, who prevailed upon him to undertake the mediation of a peace between him and the Syracusans, promising on his part singular good services for this favour. Hamilcar, inflamed with these hopes, and fearing his power, made an alliance with him, that as much strength as he furnished Agathocles with against the Syracusans, so much he himself might gain from him for increasing his power at home. Wherefore not only a peace is procured Agathocles, but he is likewise made prætor at Syracuse. Then he swore to Hamilcar that he would be always faithful to the Carthaginian nation, confirming his oath by bringing forth and touching the sacred tapers; and having received from him five thousand Africans, he killed all those of the greatest consideration in the city. And thus, under pretence of modelling the state, he summoned the people to assemble in the theatre, but brought the senate together first, as to a council for settling some matters. First, after these measures were laid, he surrounded the place where the populace was met with soldiers, and massacres the senators; and their slaughter was quickly followed by the murder of the richest and boldest of the common people.

CHAP. III. When these things were done, he levies new troops, and raises an army, with which he surprizes the neighbouring cities, who feared no hostilities, and by the permission of Hamilcar basely oppresses

presses the allies of the Carthaginians. Upon which the allies sent complaints to Carthage, not so much against Agathocles as Hamilcar, representing the one as an arbitrary usurper, and the other as a perfidious traitor, who had delivered up their lives and fortunes to their most implacable enemies, upon a secret agreement between them; that as he had first given up Syracuse as a pledge of the private union between them, a city that had always been an enemy to the Carthaginians, and the perpetual rival of Carthage for the sovereignty of Sicily; so, under the same specious pretence of peace, he had now put into his hands all the cities of their allies; wherefore they plainly forewarned them before hand, that all these calamities would soon fall upon their own heads, and that they would quickly perceive how much mischief they had brought, not upon Sicily more than upon Afric itself. The senate was highly provoked at these complaints; but because he was general of their forces, they gave their votes privately, putting them into an urn sealed up, and ordering the reading of them to be deferred till the other Hamilcar, the son of Gisgo, was returned from Sicily. But the sudden death of Hamilcar prevented all these cunning contrivances and uncommon scrutinies, and his kind destiny delivered him from the injustice of his fellow citizens, who had condemned him without hearing him. This procedure furnished Agathocles with a specious pretence for making war upon the Carthaginians. His first engagement was with Hamilcar, the son of Gisgo, by whom he was defeated. After which he returned to Syracuse, in order to renew the war with greater vigour; but the success of the second battle was the same with that of the former.

CH A P. IV. When therefore the victorious Carthaginians had shut up Syracuse with a close siege, and Agathocles saw that he was not equal to them, nor provided for a siege, but above all that his allies, offended with his barbarous insolences, had forsaken him, he resolved to remove the war into Africa. It was a most astonishing enterprize to attack the city of an enemy against whom he was not able to defend his own; that he,

he, who was not able to keep his ground at home should think of making an excursion abroad, and the conquered, could dare to insult over the conqueror. The secrecy with which this design was carried on was no less wonderful than the contrivance of it. He only declared to the people, that he had found a way of victory, provided they could arm themselves with patience to sustain the siege a few days longer; but that if any of them disliked their present condition, he gave them leave to depart. Upon this a thousand six hundred departing, he took care to supply them that remained with corn and money for carrying on the siege, and took no more than fifty talents along with him for present use, thinking it more advisable to provide himself with the rest at the expence of the enemy, than of his allies. After this, he first presented all the slaves who were of an age fit for military service with their freedom, and having made them take the military oath, he puts them, and almost the greater part of the other soldiers, on shipboard; for he imagined, that by setting both upon an equal footing, he would raise a generous emulation between them. The rest he left for the defence of the place.

CHAP. V. Wherefore, in the seventh year of his reign, accompanied with his two sons, Archagathus, and Heraclides, now men, he set sail for Africa, none of the soldiers knowing whither he was to steer his course. Whilst all thought they were bound either for Italy or Sardinia for plunder, he landed on the coast of Africa, and then first discovered his design to them all. He represented to them the present situation Syracuse was in, for which there was no other remedy, but by reducing the enemy to the same distress they themselves had suffered; for wars were managed one way at home, and another way abroad. At home we have no other support but what our own country affords; abroad we beat the enemy by his own strength, while his allies, weary of a long and odious tyranny, are looking out for foreign help to assist them in revolting. To this he added, that the cities and forts of Africa were not surrounded with walls, nor placed upon mountains, but

but built in plain fields, without any fortifications ; and therefore it would be no difficult matter to bring all these over to join him, if it were for nothing else, but only the fear of being plundered : wherefore a greater war would break forth against the Carthaginians from Africa itself than from Sicily ; and that forces from all parts would draw together against one city that was more formidable in name than power ; and from them he should find those succours which he had not carried with him. Nor would they find a small advantage from the sudden fear of the Carthaginians, who must needs be astonished at the prodigious boldness of the enemy, and thrown into a consternation ; more especially, when they should see their country-houses set on fire, and their fortresses and cities, which refused to surrender, pillaged, and Carthage itself threatened with a siege. All which would make that haughty people sensible, that they were no less exposed to the arms of others, than others to theirs ; and that by taking this course, they should not only vanquish the Carthaginians, but free their native country from them : for the enemy would soon abandon the siege of Syracuse, when he found he was distressed at home ; and therefore, as no other war could be easier, so they could no where expect to find richer plunder, since, were Carthage taken, all Africa and Sicily would fall of course into the hands of the conquerors ; and the glory of so honourable an expedition would be so considerable to all ages of the world, that it could never be buried in oblivion. That it might be said, they were the only men in the world who carried the war, which they were not able to sustain at home, abroad ; and who, tho' conquered, pursued their conquerors, and laid siege to that city whose forces had besieged their own ; that they ought therefore, with as much cheerfulness as courage, to venture upon an enterprize, than which none could present them with a more noble reward if they came off victorious, or a more glorious death if they were conquered.

CHAP. VI. By this harangue the hearts of the soldiers were somewhat elevated ; but an eclipse of the
sun

fun that had happened during their voyage, still possessed them with superstitious fears of a bad omen. The king was at no less pains to satisfy them about this affair than about the war; and therefore he told them, that he should have thought this sign an ill presage for them, if it had happened before they set out; but having happened afterwards, he could not but think it presaged ill to those against whom they marched. Besides, eclipses of the luminaries always signify a change of affairs, and therefore some change was certainly signified, either to Carthage, which was in such a flourishing condition, or to them, whose affairs were in a very ruinous state. Having thus comforted his soldiers, he orders, with the consent of the army, the ships to be set on fire, that they might see they must either die or conquer, all means of escaping by flight being taken away. Then, destroying all wherever they went, and laying towns and forts in ashes, Hanno advanced to meet them with thirty thousand Carthaginians; but a battle being fought, two thousand of the Sicilians, and three thousand of the Carthaginians, with their general, fell. By this victory the minds of the Sicilians were encouraged, and those of the Carthaginians dejected. Agathocles having defeated the enemy, demolished their towns and fortresses, drove away a great booty, and killed many thousands of the enemy. After this he encamped five miles from Carthage, that the inhabitants might see from their walls their dearest possessions destroyed, their lands laid waste, and their houses in flames. In the mean time a mighty rumour is spread all over Africa of the destruction of the Carthaginian army, and the taking of their cities. An admiration and astonishment seized all nations, to think from whence so sudden a war could come upon so strong an empire; and more especially, that it should come from a conquered enemy. This wonder was insensibly changed into a contempt of the Carthaginians; and not long after, not only the Africans, but the noblest cities, out of their fondness for changes, revolted to Agathocles, and supplied the conqueror with money and corn.

CHAP. VII. To fill up the measure of these misfortunes of the Carthaginians, their army was cut off in Sicily, with their general. For after Agathocles left Sicily, the Carthaginians becoming less vigorous in carrying on the siege of Syracuse, are said to be intirely cut off by Alexander, brother to king Agathocles; wherefore, having the same bad fortune at home and abroad, now not only their tributary towns, but those kings that were their old allies, who weighed the obligations of friendship, not in the scale of fidelity, but in that of success, abandoned them. There was, among others, a king of Greece, by name Opellas, who flattered himself with vain hopes of bringing all Africa under subjection to him, and for that end had made an alliance with Agathocles by his ambassadors, articling with him, that the kingdom of Sicily should fall to him, but that of Africa to himself, if the Carthaginians were conquered. Wherefore, when he came to join Agathocles in the war with a great army, Agathocles having baited him into security by his fawning address and low flattery, after they had supped together several times, and he had been adopted by him as his son, killed him; and possessing himself of his troops, renewed the war with the Carthaginians most vigorously, and after great slaughter on both sides, utterly vanquished them. This defeat threw the Carthaginians into such despair, that had not a mutiny happened in the army of Agathocles, Bomilcar, king of the Carthaginians, would have gone over to him with his army. For this crime he was nailed to a cross by the Carthaginians in the most public part of the city, that the same place which had formerly been the scene of his honours, might be the monument of his punishment. But Bomilcar bore the barbarous cruelty of his countrymen with great resolution; for from the top of the cross, as from a tribunal, he harangued the Carthaginians, upbraiding them one while with putting Hanno to death upon a false accusation of his aspiring to the sovereignty, another while with the banishment of innocent Gilgo, and last of all with their secret votes against his uncle Hamilcar, for no other crime

crime but his using all his interest to make a friend of Agathocles rather than an enemy. Having inveighed against them in this manner with a very loud voice before a numerous assembly of the people, he expired.

CHAP. VIII. In the mean time Agathocles having almost finished his business in Africa, left his army under the command of his son Archagathus, and returned into Sicily, thinking he had done nothing in Afric, if Syracuse was any longer besieged. For after Hamilcar, the son of Gisgo, was slain, a new army was sent thither by the Carthaginians; wherefore immediately, upon his first arrival, the cities of Sicily having heard of the exploits which he had performed in Africa, very forwardly threw themselves under his subjection; and thus driving the Carthaginians out of Sicily, he seized the dominion of the whole island. Then returning into Afric, he found his soldiers in mutiny, for the son had deferred their payment till the arrival of his father; wherefore, assembling them he endeavours to pacify them by soothing words; telling them, that their pay was not to be sought from him, but to be exacted from the enemy; that the victory would be common, and the booty common, would they but stand by him with vigour till they had finished the remainder of the war, since they well knew there was wealth enough in Carthage to satisfy all their desires and hopes. Having allayed this mutiny of the army, he marched them to the enemies camp, where he lost the greatest part of them by engaging rashly; wherefore, flying into his own camp, and finding the blame of this rash battle imputed to him, fearing the revival of their former murmurs for the non-payment of their arrears, he made his escape about midnight, only accompanied with his son Archagathus. When the soldiers knew this, they were in no less consternation than if they had been taken by the enemy: crying out, they had been twice left by their king in the middle of their enemies, and that the care of their lives had been abandoned by him who ought even to have taken care of their burials. Intending to pursue the king, they were met by some Numidians, and so returned

returned to their camp. However they apprehended, and brought back with them Archagathus, who, in the obscurity of the night, had missed the road his father took; but Agathocles arrived at Syracuse in the ships wherein he had returned from Sicily, with their convoy. An unparalleled example of villainy; a king, the deserter of his army, a father, the betrayer of his children. After the flight of the king the army capitulated with the enemy, and killing his sons, surrendered themselves to the Carthaginians. Archagathus, when he was put to death by Arcefilaus, his father's old friend, asked him what he thought Agathocles would do with his children since he had murdered his? To which Arcefilaus replied, that he was abundantly satisfied, since they were to survive the children of Agathocles. After this the Carthaginians sent new commanders into Sicily to prosecute the remainder of the war there, with whom Agathocles made a peace upon equal terms.

B O O K XXIII.

A S U M M A R Y of the CHAPTERS.

- I. *Agathocles passes into Italy, and there makes war upon the Brutians. The origin and greatness of that people.*
- II. *Agathocles is seized by a violent distemper, and returns to Sicily, where the disorders of his family oblige him to send his wife and children into Egypt.*
- III. *The exploits of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus in Sicily and Italy.*
- IV. *The virtue and probity of Hiero, king of Sicily.*

C H A P. I.

A Gathocles, the king of Sicily, having concluded a peace with the Carthaginians, reduced by force of arms most of the cities that, presuming too much
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upon their own strength, had fallen off from him. And then, as if he had been confined within too narrow bounds in an island, a part of the dominion of which he had not at first the smallest hopes of obtaining, he goes over into Italy, after the example of Dionysius, who had subdued many cities of Italy; wherefore the Brutians were his first enemies, who were then wealthier, and braver than the rest, and very forward to annoy their neighbours: for they had driven out of Italy many cities of Greek origin. They likewise had conquered in war the Lucanians their founders, with whom they made a peace afterwards on equal terms. So fierce and wild were they by nature, that they would not spare even those to whom they owed their original. The Lucanians educated their children after the Spartan manner. They brought them up from their childhood in the woods among the shepherds, without slaves to attend them, and even without any cloaths to cover them, or lie upon, that from their early years they might be inured to hardiness and frugality, and have no intercourse with the city. They lived upon what they got by hunting, and they drank nothing but water or milk. Thus were they hardened for the toils of war; wherefore fifty of their number were used to carry off plunder from their neighbours lands, and their numbers increasing, tempted by the hopes of greater booty, they began to ravage the country far and wide. Dionysius, the Sicilian tyrant, wearied with the repeated complaints of his allies, sent six hundred Africans to repress them; who, having seized their fort by means of a woman, who betrayed it to them, called Bruttia, built a city in that place, and upon the flocking in of the shepherds to settle with them, who were induced to it by the growing fame of this new city, called themselves Brutians from the name of that woman. The first war was with the Lucanians, the authors of their original. Encouraged by a victory over them, after they had made an equal peace, they subdued the rest of their neighbours by their arms, and in a short time attained to so great a strength, that they were reckoned formidable even by kings.

kings. In fine, Alexander of Epire, after he was arrived in Italy with a great army to the assistance of the Grecian cities, was cut off by them with all his forces. And their fierceness being inflamed by this success, they were for a long time terrible to their neighbours. At last Agathocles, being importuned for assistance against them, passed from Sicily into Italy, in hopes of enlarging his dominion.

CH A P. II. Upon the report of his coming, being struck with fear at his name, they sent ambassadors to him, desiring his friendship and alliance. Agathocles invited them to an entertainment, that they might not see his forces shipped, and promised to give them an audience the next day, but imbarking immediately, he baulked them. However, the event of this treachery was not happy for him; for the violence of a distemper he contracted obliged him in a few days after to return to Sicily. It seized him all over, the pestilential humour spreading through all his nerves and joints, so that every member seemed to raise a civil war against every other. His life being despaired of, a war arises between his son and grandson about his kingdom, as if he had been dead, and the grandson killing the son, seized the kingdom. Wherefore Agathocles being no longer able to support his distemper and his troubles of mind, which contended, as it were, which should most torment him, his case being desperate, sends back his wife Texena, and two little sons he had by her, with all his money, furniture, and servants (in none of which did any king of that time surpass him) in ships to Egypt, from whence he had got his wife, fearing the violence of the distemper. Tho' the wife begged long that she might not be separated from her sick husband, insisting, that so criminal a departure would be almost equal to the parricide of his grandson, and that the world would think her no less cruel for forsaking her husband, than the grandson for making war upon him. That, by marrying him, she had not only engaged in a partnership of his good fortune, but of all his fortune, whatever it should be; and that she would willingly purchase, at the expence of her own life, the

sad happiness of receiving her husband's last breath, and of performing, with all the care of conjugal duty, the last offices, which, after she was gone, none would be left to execute. The little children at parting embraced, and held fast their father, with doleful cries. On the other hand, she, who was now to see him no more, fatigued him with repeated kisses. Nor were the tears of the old prince less moving. The children mourned for the approaching death of their father, he for that of his banished children. They bewailed the forlorn condition of their father, a sick old man; he, that of his children, who being born to the hopes of a kingdom, should be left in want. During these things the palace rang with the cries of the by-standers for so cruel a separation. At length the necessity of parting put a stop to their tears, and the king's death quickly followed the departure of his sons. In the mean time the Carthaginians, learning the posture of affairs in Sicily, and thinking an opportunity was thereby given them of seizing the whole island, transported a numerous army thither, and reduced several cities under their obedience.

CHAP. III. At this time Pyrrhus was engaged in a war against the Romans, and having been invited by the Sicilians to their assistance, as we have said, when he came to Syracuse, and had subdued many cities, he was called king of Sicily as well as Epirus. Elevated by his good success in these affairs, he designed the kingdom of Sicily for his son Helenus, in the right of his grandfather, whose mother was the daughter of Agathocles, and reserved Italy for his son Alexander. After this he fought many successful battles with the Carthaginians. Then some time after ambassadors came from his Italian allies, to acquaint him, that they could not withstand the Romans, and that they must submit, unless he relieved them. Being much concerned at this mighty danger, and uncertain what to do, or whom he should first relieve, quite in suspense he consulted about the matter. For the Carthaginians so pressed him on one side, and the Romans on the other, that it seemed dangerous not to transport

his array into Italy, but more dangerous to draw them out of Sicily ; lest he should lose the friendship of the one, if he did not carry them assistance, and of the other, if he deserted them. In this perplexity the securest harbour to take seemed to be to engage with all his strength in Sicily, and having rooted the Carthaginians there, to transport his victorious army into Italy. Wherefore, hazarding a battle, he came off superior ; yet, because he quitted Sicily, he was thought to fly like one defeated, and therefore his allies abandoned him, and he lost the kingdom of Sicily in as short time as he had conquered it. But not meeting with better fortune in Italy, he returned to Epire. His fortune in both cases was a truly wonderful example ; for as before his good fortune, his affairs succeeding beyond his wishes, procured him the empire of Italy and Sicily, and so many victories over the Romans ; so now his ill fortune, as it were, on purpose to exemplify human frailty, striking down all it had raised, added to the loss of Sicily a shipwreck, an unsuccessful battle with the Romans, and an ignominious retreat out of Italy.

CHAP. IV. After Pyrrhus had quitted Sicily, Hiero was made chief magistrate there, who behaved with such moderation, that by the unanimous consent of all the cities, he was first made general against the Carthaginians, and soon after king. His education while an infant presaged his future grandeur ; for he sprang from a father, Hierocles, a nobleman, descended from Gelo, an ancient prince of Sicily, tho' his extraction on the mother's side was mean and ignoble : for he was born of a maid-servant, and therefore exposed by his father as a disgrace to his family. But bees for several days fed the infant, thus left destitute of all human assistance, with honey laid about him. For which reason, the father being encouraged to it by the answer of the soothsayers, who declared, that sovereign power was thereby portended to the infant, takes him home, and educates him with the utmost care in the hopes of the majesty that was presaged. A wolf that appeared on a sudden in a company of boys, took his book from him as he was learning at school among

his condisciples. And an eagle, the very first campaign he served, perched upon his shield, and an owl upon his spear; which omens presaged that he would be a person of equal caution and valour, and at last be raised to a crown. In fine, he fought often with persons that challenged him, and always came off conqueror. He was complimented by king Pyrrhus with several military presents. He was remarkable for his extraordinary beauty and strength, for his complaisant address. He was just in the conduct of all his affairs, and moderate in commanding; so that nothing was wanting in him to his kingly accomplishments and virtues, but only a kingdom equal to them.

B O O K XXIV.

A SUMMARY of the CHAPTERS.

- I. *The cities of Greece take up arms one against another.*
- II. *The conspiracy of Ptolemy, king of Macedonia, against his sister Arsinoe.*
- III. *Their incestuous marriage is attended with tragical events.*
- IV. *The irruption of the Gauls into Macedonia, after having defeated and killed Ptolemy.*
- V. *The consternation of the Macedonians after the death of the king. Their struggles and revival.*
- VI. *The Gauls invade Greece under the conduct of Brennus. He resolves to plunder the temple of Delphos. A description of that temple and oracle.*
- VII. *Brennus consults with his officers how to assault the temple, and animates his soldiers.*
- VIII. *He attacks the temple in vain. His army is miraculously destroyed. His death.*

C H A P. I.

WHILE these things were a doing in Sicily, in Greece Ptolemy, Ceraunus, Anticchus, and Antigonus, quarrelling amongst themselves, almost all the cities

cities of Greece, under their leaders the Spartans, considering this dissention as an opportunity of recovering their freedom, are roused to the hopes of liberty, send ambassadors to one another to form a mutual league on this occasion, and break out into open war. And that they might not seem to have undertaken a war with Antigonus, whose subjects they were, they attack his allies the Ætolians, pretending for their reason of this war, that they had seized the Cyrrhean plain, which had been dedicated to Apollo by the common consent of Greece. They chose Arcas to be their general, who, drawing his forces together, laid waste the city, and carried off all the corn that had been sown in these plains, and burnt what could not be removed. When the Ætolian shepherds saw this destruction of their country from their mountains, getting together to the number of about five hundred, they pursue the enemy, that lay scattered, and knew not the strength of their attackers, because their sudden consternation, together with the smoke of the five hundred, hindered them from making a true discovery; and slaying about nine thousand of them, put the rest of this band of robbers to flight. The Spartans after this renewed the war, but many cities refused their assistance, thinking the design was at bottom to enslave, and not to assert the liberty of Greece. In the mean time the war between the kings was ended: for Ptolemy, after he had routed Antigonus, having made himself master of all Macedonia, out of which he had driven Antigonus, made a peace with Antiochus, and an alliance with Pyrrhus, by giving him his daughter in marriage.

CHAP. II. Then laying aside all fears of a foreign enemy, he employed his impious wicked mind in contriving domestic villainies, and lays a plot against his sister Arsinoë, to deprive her sons of life, and herself of the possession of the city of Cassandrea. His first artifice was to pretend love to his sister, and seek marriage with her: for there was no other way of coming at his sister's sons, whose kingdom he had usurped, than by counterfeiting affection to the mother. But his criminal design was discovered by his sister;

therefore he sends word to her, who put no trust in him, that he intended to share the kingdom with her sons, against whom he had not taken up arms to wrest their kingdom from them, but to have it in his power to make them a present of it; and that she might send one to take his oath, to whom he would oblige himself to the fulfilment of this promise before the gods of his country, by the most solemn oaths and imprecation she pleased. Arsinoe, not knowing what to do, was afraid that he would deceive her by his perjury if she did send one, and if she did not, she was afraid of drawing the provoked rage of her brother upon her. Wherefore, being more concerned for her children than herself, whom she thought she should be able to protect by marrying him, she sent one Chodion to him in whom she had great confidence, who being conducted into the most sacred temple of Jupiter, which the Macedonians then held in great veneration, Ptolemy, laying his hands on the altars, and touching the images and sacred beds of the gods, swears with unheard of and most terrible imprecations, that he did with the most sincere affection demand his sister in marriage, and that he would give her the title of queen, and never affront her by taking any other wife, or own any other children but her sons. After Arsinoe was thus filled with hopes, and delivered from her fears, she had a conference with her brother, and his affectionate looks and flattering eyes promising no less sincerity than his oath, she consented to marry him, tho' her son still forewarned her that there was treachery at the bottom.

CHAP. III. The nuptials were celebrated with vast solemnity, and general joy. The army too being assembled, he put a diadem on his sister's head, and called her queen; which title so overjoy'd Arsinoe, because she had thus recovered what she had lost by the death of Lyfimachus, her former husband, that she frankly invited her husband into her city of Cassandrea, for getting which into his hands, the whole plot was laid. Wherefore going before her husband, she proclaims a festival in the city against his coming, and or-
ders

ders the houses, temples, and all other places, to be finely decked; altars and victims to be placed every where; and likewise commands Lyfimachus, who was sixteen years old, and Philip, who was three years younger, both extremely comely youths, to go meet him with crowns upon their heads. Ptolemy, to disguise his treachery, embracing them eagerly, and with a warmth exceeding real affection, wearies them with his kisses. But when he came to the gate of the city, he ordered the citadel to be seized, and the boys to be murdered; and they flying to their mother for protection, were barbarously butcher'd in her arms, as she was embracing and kissing them. Arsinoe crying out that this murder of her sons was the fatal fruit of her criminal marriage, oftentimes offered herself to the assassins, in the room of her sons, and covering their bodies with her own, endeavoured to receive all the blows that were aimed at them. To consummate the cruelty, she was even deprived of the comfort of performing the last obsequies to her cruelly murdered sons, and dragged out of the city, with her raiment rent to pieces, and her hair dishivell'd; and having only two servants to attend her, she retired in exile to Samothracia, being the more miserable in this respect, that she was not allowed to die with her sons. But the execrable villainies of Ptolemy did not escape punishment: for the immortal gods taking vengeance for so many perjuries, and such cruel parricides, he was stript of his kingdom, in a short time after, by the Gauls, and taken prisoner; and, at last, put to death as he deserved.

CHAP. IV. For the Gauls finding their native soil not large enough for them, by reason of their numbers, sent out three thousand men, as it were a sacred spring *, to seek a new habitation. Part of them settled

* We translate the phrase *ver sacrum* literally; but every dictionary tells what it means, viz. a multitude of youth sent out in arms, to seek a new habitation, and settle a colony. It properly signifies cattle, *quod proximo vere natum foret, consecrated by a vow to be sacrificed; and*
K 5 hence

settled in Italy, took the city of Rome, and burnt it to the ground; and part penetrated into the remotest parts of Illyrium, under the direction of a flight of birds; (for the Gauls exceeded all other nations in the arts of Augury) fighting their way, and making great slaughter among the nations that opposed them; and settled in Pannonia. This rough, bold, and warlike nation was the first that passed the inaccessible Alps, and places uninhabitable, on account of the excessive cold, after Hercules, who had, by this daring attempt, purchased a high admiration while he lived, and after his death a belief of his immortality. There, after having conquered the Pannonians, they carried on several wars with their neighbours for many years. At last, encouraged by their success, they divide their troops; and march some into Greece, and others into Macedonia, laying waste all before them. And such was the terror of the Gallic name, that even kings, not attacked by them, purchased peace with them by vast sums of money. Ptolemy, king of Macedonia, alone heard, with an undaunted mind, the news of their approach: and, push'd on by his destiny, that designed to punish his parricides, meets them with a few troops, and those too not in order; as if there were no more difficulty in managing a war, than in perpetrating a murder. He likewise rejected with contempt an embassy sent by the Dardanians, offering him the assistance of twenty thousand well arm'd men; adding abusive language, to this effect, that Macedonia was in a sad plight, if after having subdued by themselves the whole east, they should stand in need of the Dardanians for the defence of their country: that his army consisted of the sons of those who had served under Alexander the Great, and had triumph'd over the universe. This answer being related

hence it is transferred to signify homines alio emittendos ex eodem voto. And therefore Justin adds the word velut, denoting a similitude. When a city was overstock'd, they consecrated to some god all the men that should be born in the compass of one year, and sent them to seek a new settlement under the protection of that god.

to the Dardanian king, he said, The famous kingdom of Macedonia would soon fall a sacrifice to the rashness of this mad youth.

CH A P. V. Wherefore the Gauls, under their commander Belgius, send ambassadors to Ptolemy, to sound the disposition of the Macedonians, offering him a peace for a certain sum of money; but Ptolemy vaunted among his subjects, that the Gauls sued for peace out of fear of war: nor did he give himself more modest airs with the ambassadors themselves, than amongst his subjects; telling them, that he would not grant them a peace on any other terms than their giving up their chiefs as hostages, and surrendering their arms; for he should not trust them 'till they were disarmed. When this answer was brought them, the Gauls laughed immoderately, and cried out, that they would make him know in a very short time, whether they offered him peace for their own sakes, or his. Some days after, a battle was fought, and the Macedonians were defeated, and miserably slaughter'd. Ptolemy being grievously wounded, is taken prisoner, and had his head cut off, which was fixed upon a spear, and carried in triumph through the whole army, to strike terror into the Macedonians. A few of the Macedonians saved themselves by flight; the rest were either taken or slain. When this disagreeable news spread all over Macedonia, the gates of the cities were shut, and all places were filled with mourning. Sometimes they lamented the loss of their sons; sometimes they trembled at the approaching destruction of their city; and another while they invoked the names of their kings, Alexander and Philip, as deities, to their assistance; saying, that under them they were not only secure, but conquerors of the world, and begged that they would protect their country, which by the glory of their exploits they had raised to heaven; and that they would give assistance to the afflicted, whom the madness and rashness of Ptolemy had ruined. While universal despair prevailed, Sosthenes, one of the gallantest men in Macedonia, thinking they could never do their business by prayer, drawing together an army, both defeated the

Gauls, while they were rejoicing for their victory, and defended Macedonia from the devastations of the enemy. For these great services, he, tho' of ignoble extraction, was preferred before the many nobles that aspired to the kingdom of Macedonia. But though the army proclaimed him king, yet he obliged them to take an oath to him, not as their king, but as their general.

CHAP. VI. In the mean while, Brennus, under whose command a part of the Gauls had made an incursion into Greece, having heard of the success of their friends, who, under their general Belgus had overthrown the Macedonians, being angry that after the victory was gained, the fine plunder, consisting of all the spoils of the east, had been so easily quitted, draws together an army of a hundred and fifty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse, and break into Macedonia. Whilst he was ravaging the lands and towns, Sosthenes met him with a well provided army of the Macedonians: but a small handful of men, already dispirited, were easily over-powered by an enemy superior both in number and force. Wherefore the defeated Macedonians retired within the walls of their cities, and the victorious Brennus ravages all the country, there being none to oppose him. And then, as if the spoils of mortals were too mean a booty for him, he resolved to plunder the temples of the immortal gods; jesting, in his profane way, that the rich gods ought to be boastful to men. Wherefore he marched directly to Delphi, preferring plunder to religion, and regarding gold more than the favour or anger of the superior powers, who, as he impiously said, stood in no need of riches, but used rather to give them to men. Now the temple of Apollo at Delphi, is situated upon mount Parnassus, a rock which is very steep on all sides; multitudes flocking thither from all parts of the world, to pay their devotions, settled there; and both the temple and the city are defended, not by walls, but precipices, and natural, not artificial fortifications; so that 'tis hard to say, whether the strength of the place, or the majesty of the god residing in it, meet with more admiration.

The middle part of the eminence opens itself in the form of a theatre; which is the reason that when shouts are raised, or trumpets sounded there, the rocks, that return the noise, and rebound it from one to another, multiply the report, and resound it more strongly than when it was made at first. This effect occasions a greater awe of the god, in those who are ignorant of its natural causes; and, indeed, strikes them with amazement. In a cavity of this rock, about the middle of the mountain, there is a small plain, and in that a deep hole, for an issue to the oracles. Out of this arises a cold sort of exhalation, driven up by some secret force, as it were, by a wind, which inspires the minds of the prophets with a holy enthusiasm; and when they are filled with the god, they give answers to such as come to consult them. Wherefore many rich presents of kings are there to be seen, which, by their magnificence, prove the gratitude of those who payed their vows there, and the truth of the divine oracles there delivered.

CHAP. VII. When Brennus came within sight of the temple, he deliberated for some time with himself, whether he should immediately make his designed attempt, or should allow the soldiers, who were fatigued by their march, a night to refresh themselves. Two general officers, Ennius and Thessalorus, who had joined him for a share in the plunder, were positive that no delay ought to be made, but that advantage ought to be taken of the enemy, while they were unprepared, and in a consternation at their sudden arrival; and that one night would give them time to collect their courage, and to get supplies, and block up the avenues, which were now open to them. But the Gaulic soldiery, when, after long wait, they found a country filled with wine, and all other provision, being no less pleased with this plenty, than if they had got a victory, dispersed themselves through the country, and quitting their colours, wander about to seize on every thing that fell in their way, as if they had been already conquerors. This gave some respite to the Delphians. Upon the first news that the Gauls were coming this way,

way, the oracle had prohibited the country people to carry off their harvest and wine from their houses; the wholesomeness of which advice was not understood 'till the auxiliary forces of their neighbours drew together; having time to do it, by the stop that this plenty of wine and provisions made to the progress of the Gauls. Wherefore the Delphians being reinforced by the accession of their allies, thoroughly fortified their city, before the Gauls, who stuck close to the wine as their plunder, could be brought to their colours. Brennus had chosen out of all the army sixty five thousand foot; of the Delphians, and their allies, there were but four thousand; in contempt of whom, Brennus, to amuse his soldiers, shewed them all the vast plenty of spoil before them; and affirmed, that the statues, and chariots drawn by four horses, of which they could discern a great number at a distance, were made of solid gold, and consequently were of more value in weight than they appeared to be.

CHAP. VIII. The Gauls, no less inflamed by this declaration, than by the wine they had drank the day before, rushed to battle, without any thought of danger. On the other hand, the Delphians placing more confidence in their god, than in their troops, resisted with contempt of the enemy, and from the top of the rock, with stones and darts, beat back the Gauls that were climbing up. During bold efforts on both sides, on a sudden, the priests of all the temples, and at the same time the prophetesses themselves, with their hair scatter'd about their ears, and with their particular ornaments and trappings belonging to their sacerdotal office, run, as possessed with a divine fury, which transported them out of themselves, among the foremost ranks, and cried out, that the god was come, and that they saw him leap down into his temple through the opening in the roof. Whilst they all hardly invoke the help of the god, a youth, comely beyond the beauty of mortals, appear'd, attended by two virgins, who came from the neighbouring temples of Diana and Minerva: nor did they only see them with their eyes; they likewise heard the noise of a bow, and the rattling

of arms. Therefore they encouraged them by their utmost entreaty, since the gods were before their standards to fall upon the enemy, and share the victory with the gods. The Delphians, fired by this exhortation, rush'd with emulous fury to the battle: and they too presently perceived the presence of the god; for part of the rock being torn off by a sudden earthquake, fell upon the Gaulish army, and several thick bodies of the enemies army being separated, not without wounds, tumbled headlong. After this, there ensued a storm, which, by hail and cold, kill'd those that lay ill of their wounds. The general Brennus, not able to sustain the torture of his wounds, put an end to his life by a dagger. The other of the generals, after having punished the advisers of this war, marches out of Greece in all expedition, with ten thousand wounded men. But fortune was not more favourable to the Gauls in their flight, for they were so frightened, that they neither pals'd one night under a cover, nor one day without great fatigues and dangers. The continual rains, and snow congeal'd by the frost, famine and pestilence; and together with these, which is worst of all, perpetual waking, consumed the miserable remains of this unfortunate army. The nations and countries through which they marched, pursued them, hardly able to move a joint, as a prey; by which means it happened that not one of so great an army, which a little before, presuming upon its strength, contended against the gods, was left to be a memorial of so great a destruction.

B O O K XXV.

A SUMMARY of the CHAPTERS.

- I. *The Gauls conspire against Antigonus, king of Macedonia:*
- II. *Being too greedy of prey, they become a prey to the enemy. Antigonus procures a peace. The name of the Gauls formidable; and the constant good fortune of their arms.*
- III. *Pyrrhus*

III. *Pyrrhus makes himself master of Macedonia, having chased Antigenus from thence.*

IV. *Pyrrhus, while he was dreaming of an universal monarchy, is defeated by the bravery of the Spartan women.*

V. *Pyrrhus is killed in the city of Argos. His character, and a description of his chief actions.*

CHAP. I.

PEACE being made between the two kings Antigenus and Antiochus, as the former was upon his return to Macedonia, a new enemy started up suddenly against him. For the Gauls, who had been left behind by their general Brennus, when he went upon his expedition into Greece, to defend his frontiers, that they alone might not seem idle, armed fifteen thousand foot, and three thousand horse, and putting the *Getæ* and *Triballians* to flight, and being now ready to pour their forces into Macedonia, sent ambassadors to the king, to offer a peace for a certain sum of gold; and at the same time to make observations upon his camp. The king invited them to a sumptuous entertainment, for which vast preparations of dainties were made: but the Gauls admiring the vast heaps of gold and silver plate exposed to their view, were tempted to desire so rich a plunder; and so return'd more determined upon war than they came. The king had likewise ordered his elephants to be shewn to them, thinking to terrify them by the sight of monsters they had never seen before; as also his well mann'd and stored ships; little dreaming that he was but inflaming their avarice for such a booty, instead of striking terror into them, by this vain glorious ostentation of his wealth. Wherefore the ambassadors, when they returned to their countrymen, magnifying all things excessively, set forth, in the strongest colours, both the riches and indolence of this prince. His camp, they said, abounded with gold and silver, but was secured by no ramparts or trenches: for, as if their wealth were security enough to them, they neglect all military duty; just as if they had no need of the defence of steel, who had such store of gold.

CHAP.

CHAP. II. By this account of things, the Gauls, who were naturally a covetous people, were sufficiently stimulated to make themselves masters of such prodigious wealth. The example of Belgius, who so very lately had cut off an army of the Macedonians, with their king, added not a little to their courage. Wherefore they unanimously agree to attack the king's camp by night. But he having previously discovered this design, had the day before given orders to carry off all the baggage privately into a neighbouring wood, and there to hide themselves. Nor did any thing else but this save the camp. For the Gauls, when they saw the camp was abandoned, and not only without an army, but without so much as sentinels to guard it; thinking this not a real flight, but a stratagem of the enemy, were, for a long time, afraid of entering into it. At last, leaving the fortifications entire, they seized the camp more like people that came to look about them, and observe, than to plunder; then carrying off all they found, they returned toward the sea coast; where carelessly pillaging the ships, they are cut off, whilst they dreaded no danger, by the sailors, and a part of the army that had fled thither with their wives and children. So great a slaughter was made of the Gauls, that the fame of this victory procured Antigonus a peace, not only from them, but from his barbarous neighbours; tho' the Gauls, at this time, were so broody a nation, that they filled all Asia with their swarms. In fine, neither any of the eastern kings carried on any wars without a mercenary army of Gauls; nor when they were driven out of their kingdom, did they fly to any other but the Gauls. So great was the terror of their name, and such the invincible prosperity of their arms, that kings thought they could neither secure, nor recover when lost, their sovereignty, but by the valour of this people. Wherefore being called by the king of Bithynia to his assistance, after they got him the victory, he divided his country with them, and called the district he gave to them Gallo-Græcia.

CHAP. III. During these transactions in Asia, Pyrrhus was defeated by the Carthaginians, in a sea-fight
near

near Sicily : to repair this loss, he sent ambassadors to Antigonus, king of Macedonia, to beg auxiliaries from him, declaring, unless he sent them, he should be obliged to return into his kingdom, and to seek that enlargement of his dominions from him, which he would rather take from the Romans. When the ambassadors brought him word, that the king had rejected his proposals, he pretends a sudden departure, but concealed the reasons of it. In the mean time, he orders his allies to prepare for war, and commits the care of Tarentum to the care of his son Helenus, and his friend Milo. At his return into Epire, he immediately invaded Macedonia. Antigonus met him with an army, which defeated him, and put him to flight. After this, Pyrrhus gets Macedonia by a surrendry ; and, as if the acquisition of this kingdom had compensated his loss of Sicily and Italy, he sends for his son and his friend, left at Tarentum. But Antigonus, with a few horsemen that accompanied him in his flight, being on a sudden stript of all the ornaments of his dignity, withdrew into Thessalonica, in order to wait for a fit opportunity of recovering his lost kingdom, and of trying again the fortune of war, with a mercenary army of Gauls. But being again entirely worsted by Ptolemy, Pyrrhus's son, he fled away with seven attendants ; and despairing of recovering his kingdom, only thought of saving his person in lurking holes and solitary places.

CHAP. IV. Wherefore Pyrrhus being raised to so great a height of power, and not content with that greatness to which he could never aspire so much as in his wishes, projects to himself the conquest of Asia and Greece. Nor did he take more delight in dominion itself, than in war ; and wherever he carried his arms, it was hardly possible to withstand him ; but as he had a singularly good fortune in acquiring kingdoms, so, on the other hand, he lost them as soon as he conquered them. So much more care did he take to get, than to maintain conquests. Wherefore, having marched his army towards Peloponnesus, he was received there by ambassadors from the Athenians, Archæans, and Messenians. Nay, all Greece being alarmed by his reputation,

tion, and by the glory of his exploits against the Romans and Carthaginians, waited his coming. His first war was against the Spartans, in which he lost his son Ptolemy, and the flower of his army; more through the bravery of the women, than of the men: for upon his assaulting the city, so vast a number of women crowded together, for the defence of their country, that the shamefulneſs of his retreat was equal to the bravery of thoſe who obliged him to it. Moreover, 'tis ſaid, that his ſon Ptolemy behaved ſo bravely and honourably, that he took the city Corcyra with ſixty men only. The ſame perſon, in a naval engagement, jumped out of a ſmall boat, with ſeven men only in it, into a large galley, and took and kept it. At the ſiege of Lacedemon, he rode into the middle of the town, and there was ſlain in a crowd of people that overpowered him. When this young man's body was carried to his father Pyrrhus, 'tis reported, that the father ſaid, that he was kill'd a little later than he had fear'd, or his raſhneſs had deſerved.

CH A P. V. Pyrrhus being repulſed by the Spartans, goes to Argos: there, while he was endeavouring to take Antigonus, who was ſhut up in the city, fighting furioſly in the thickeſt of the battle, he was ſlain by a ſtone thrown from the walls. His head was carried to Antigonus, who uſing his victory with great moderation, ſent back his ſon Helenus, who with ſeveral Epirotes had ſurrendered themſelves to him, and delivered to him the bones of his father, which had not yet received the rites of burial, to be entombed amongſt his anceſtors. Moſt hiſtorians agree, that no king, neither of that nor the former age, was comparable to Pyrrhus; and that there had rarely been ſeen, not only among kings, but among perſons of luſtre, one of a more upright life, or ſtricter juſtice. He certainly was ſo well ſkill'd in the art of war, that tho' he had been engaged in wars with ſuch great princes as Lyſimachus, Demetrius, and Antigonus, he always came off conqueror. In the wars too of the Illyrians, Sicilians, Romans, and Carthaginians, he never was worſted, but was for the moſt part victorious. He rendered his
country,

country, that was before but mean and obscure, famous throughout the world, by the renown of his glorious exploits, and the splendour of his reputation.

B O O K XXVI.

A SUMMARY of the CHAPTERS.

- I. *The people of Peloponnesus are treacherously betray'd to Antigonus. The tyrant Aristotimus seizes the city of the Æleans, and is at last destroyed by the conspiracy of Hellanicus.*
- II. *Antigonus engages with the Gauls, who in a fury kill their wives and children, but are justly rewarded for it. Several adventures of Antigonus.*
- III. *Alexander, the son of Pyrrhus, is restored to his kingdom. The disorders of the kingdom of Cyrene.*

C H A P. I.

AFTER the death of Pyrrhus, mighty commotions happened, not only in Macedonia, but also in Asia, and in Greece: for the Peloponnesians too were treacherously delivered up to Antigonus; and the several cities being variously moved with joy or grief, according as they dreaded Pyrrhus, or expected assistance from him, they either enter'd into an alliance with Antigonus, or incensed by their mutual animosities, made war upon one another. During this disorder in the provinces, the sovereignty of the city of Epiri was usurp'd by Aristotimus, a leading man there. After he had killed many, and banish'd more of the chiefs of this city, the Ætolians solicited him by ambassadors, to restore the towns and children of the banished. At first he refused; but afterwards, as if he had relented, he gave all the married women leave to go to their husbands, and fixed a certain day for their departure. They thinking they were to wear out their lives in banishment with their husbands, took all their valuable moveables

moveables with them. But scarce were they come to the city-gate, to march out in a body, when they were apprehended, stripped of all their goods, and thrown into prison; their infants being first murdered in the bosoms of their mothers, and the young women ravished. Whilst the whole city was as it were stupified at this cruel tyranny, Hellanicus, the most considerable person among them, having no fear of losing his own life, because he was an old man, and despised it; nor no concern for children, having none alive; invited the most trusty of his friends to his house, and encouraged them to attempt the delivery of their country. They not being forward to expose themselves to private danger for the public safety, desired some time to consider of it: upon which, calling the servants, he ordered the doors to be shut, and sent messengers to the tyrant, to bid him send a strong guard to seize a band of conspirators against his life, that were at his house; telling each of them, with severe reproaches, that since he could not be so happy as to deliver his country, he would at least have the pleasure of revenging its quarrel upon those who abandon'd it. Thus they being brought between two dangers, chose the more honourable way, and conspire together to kill the tyrant: and accordingly, Aristotimus was killed in the fifth month of his tyrannical usurpation.

CH A P. II. In the mean time Antigonus being involved in a double war with Ptolemy and the Spartans, a new enemy, the army of Gallo-Græcia, came upon him; and therefore leaving a few troops in his camp, to amuse the rest, he marches against the Gauls, with all his other forces. The Gauls being apprized of this, prepared for battle, and sacrificed several victims, to take presages of the event; and finding that by the entrails, a great slaughter, and the total destruction of their army was portended, being thrown, not into fear, but fury, in hopes of averting the threats of the gods, by the slaughter of their kindred, they kill their wives and children; beginning the war with parricide. So outrageous a madness had seized their minds, that they did not spare even that age which enemies would have spared:

spared; and made an unnatural and bloody war against their wives and children, for the defence of whom wars are undertaken. Then, as if they had purchased their lives and victory by such execrable cruelty, they march, bloody as they were with the murder of their relations, to battle, with no better success than the omen had signified. For the furies of a guilty mind attack'd them, as they prepared for the fight, before the enemy did: and the ghosts of their murdered kinsmen appearing before their eyes, they were totally cut off. So great was the havock, that the gods seemed to have agreed with men, to punish such wicked parricides. After the event of this battle, Ptolemy and the Spartans declining the victorious army of the enemy, retired into safer places. Antigonus finding they had dislodged, turned his arms against the Athenians, while his soldiers was yet animated by the late victory. As he was engaged in this war, Alexander king of Epire, desirous to revenge the death of his father Pyrrhus, ravaged the frontiers of Macedonia. Antigonus returning with all speed from Greece, to give him battle, was deserted by his men, who went over to the enemy, and lost both his army and his kingdom. His son Demetrius, who was then a mere boy, in the absence of his father, raising an army, not only recovered Macedonia, that had been lost, but likewise stript Alexander of the kingdom of Epire. Such was the fickleness of fortune, or of the soldiers, that kings were by turns, exiles and kings.

CHAP. III. Wherefore Alexander, who had fled in exile to the Acarnanians, is restored to his kingdom, as well by the zeal of his subjects the Epirotes, as the assistance of his allies. About the same time, Agas, king of Cyrene died, who, before his illness, had betrothed his daughter Berenice to his brother Ptolemy's son, in order to end all disputes between them. But after the death of the king, the mother of the virgin Arsinoe, to frustrate a match that had been agreed to without her consent, sent some into Macedonia for Demetrius the brother of king Antigonus by a daughter of Ptolemy, to marry the young lady, and receive the kingdom of Cyrene. Nor did Demetrius linger to come; but

but having quickly arrived at Cyrene by a favourable wind, presuming too much upon his fine figure, by means of which he had already gained so much upon his mother-in-law, began very soon to behave haughtily to the royal family itself, and to the soldiers; and transferr'd his courtship from the daughter to the mother. This was first suspected by the young lady, and at last render'd him odious to the people and army; wherefore the affections of all being turned upon Ptolemy's son, a plot was laid for Demetrius, and assassins were let in to kill him, when he was in bed with his mother-in-law; but Arsinoe hearing her daughter's voice, who, as she stood by the door, ordered the murderers to spare her mother, interposed for some time between them and her gallant, to save him; but he was slain, and by his death, Berenice was both revenged for the gallantry of her mother, without violating her duty to her; and followed her father's judgment in the choice of a husband.

B O O K XXVII.

A SUMMARY of the CHAPTERS.

- I. *Seleucus kills his mother-in-law, and his brother, who was but an infant.*
- II. *He loses his fleet by a tempest. Is defeated by Ptolemy, and sends to his brother Antiochus, surnamed Hierax, for succour.*
- III. *Asia is distracted by cruel wars. The vengeance of the gods against Antiochus, Hierax, and Seleucus.*

C H A P. I.

AFTER the death of Antiochus, king of Syria, his son Seleucus succeeding in his stead, his mother Laodice encouraging him to it, who ought to have forbid it, began his reign with parricide; killing his step-mother Berenice, the sister of Ptolemy king of Egypt,

Egypt, with a little son he had by her. This villain not only made him infamous, but involved him in a war with Ptolemy. As for Berenice, when she heard the assassins were sent to kill her, she shut herself up in Daphna; where being besieged, when the cities of Asia heard of it, calling to mind the grandeur of her father and Ancestors, and touched with compassion for her misfortunes, they all sent her assistance. Her brother Ptolemy too, affrighted at the danger of his sister, leaving his kingdom, marches all his forces with the utmost expedition to her relief. But Berenice, before her succours arrived, tho' she could not be taken by force was betrayed treacherously, and put to death. This barbarous action was cried out against by all the world wherefore all the cities that had revolted, and had already equipped a great fleet, being terrified by this instance of his cruelty, and being desirous to revenge the death of this unfortunate queen, whom they had a design to defend, immediately surrendered themselves to Ptolemy, who, had he not been recalled into Egypt by some commotions at home, would have made himself master of all Seleucus's dominions. So universal an odium did this unnatural murder draw upon Seleucus; and so much favour did the death of a sister, so barbarously massacred, procure to Ptolemy.

CHAP. II. After the departure of Ptolemy, Seleucus having got ready a great fleet against the cities that had revolted, the gods themselves, as it were, revenging the parricide, a sudden storm arose, in which he lost this armado, nothing being saved but himself naked, and a few companions of his shipwreck. This was a dismal event, but such a one as Seleucus ought to have wish'd for; for the cities which in hatred to him had gone over to Ptolemy, thinking that the gods had now sufficiently punish'd the prince for his crime were moved to compassion, on account of his loss at sea; and by a sudden alteration of their minds, returned again to their allegiance. Therefore, rejoicing at his misfortunes, and made richer even by his losses, he prepares to make war against Ptolemy, judging himself now a match for him; but as if he had been born

to be the sport of fortune, and had received his kingdom only to lose it, being defeated in a battle, he flies in a great hurry to Antiochus, not much better attended than after his shipwreck. From thence he dispatches a letter to his brother Antiochus, in which he implores his assistance ; offering him for recompense, if he should, that part of Asia which is bounded by mount Taurus : but Antiochus, tho' but fourteen, having ambition above his years, snatched at the opportunity, not with such affection as it was offered, but with the disposition of a perfidious robber, designing to strip him of all ; and tho' but very young, arms himself for that intent with a wicked and manlike boldness. Hence he was surnamed Hierax, or hawk, because, like that bird of prey, he lived by rapine and violence. In the mean time, Ptolemy Evergetes being informed that Antiochus was come to the assistance of Seleucus, that he might not be engaged with two at once, made a peace with Seleucus for ten years. But the peace that was given by the enemy, was interrupted by the brother, who having a mercenary army of Gauls, far from assisting him, attacked him ; and instead of acting like a brother, acted like an enemy. In this battle, Antiochus was conqueror, by the bravery of the Gauls ; but the Gauls supposing Seleucus had fallen in the battle, turn'd their arms against Antiochus himself ; in hopes that they should ravage Asia at pleasure, if they should destroy the whole race of its princes. Antiochus having notice of this design, redeem'd himself by a large sum of money, as from robbers, and makes an alliance with his hireling troops.

CH A P. III. In the mean time, Eumenes king of Bithynia, whilst the brothers were dispersed and exhausted with their civil wars, as if he had intended to seize the possession of Asia, now without a master, falls upon the conqueror Antiochus, and his Gauls : and it was not difficult for his fresh men to beat an army quite spent by the fatigues of their late engagement. For at this time all wars were carried on for the destruction of Asia ; and every stronger prince seized it as his prey. The brothers Seleucus and Antiochus waged war only

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for the sovereignty of Asia; and Ptolemy king of Egypt under pretence of avenging his sister, had the same view. On the one hand, Eumenes of Bithynia, and on the other, the Gauls, a mercenary army, (who the weakest party always kept in pay) ravaged Asia and there was not one who had the courage to defend it attacked by so many robbers. Antiochus being defeated, Eumenes had possessed himself of the greater part of Asia; but these two brothers could not agree even tho' the prize for which they contended was lost and leaving their foreign enemies in peace, use the utmost efforts to destroy one another. Antiochus was overcome the second time; and after a fatiguesome flight of several days, came at last to his father-in-law Artamenes king of Cappadocia; by whom being kindly received for some days, having discovered that a plot was laid for him, he secured himself by flying; and finding no where a safer place, he goes to Ptolemy his enemy, whose faith he thought was more to be depended upon than that of his brother, whether he considered what he would have done to his brother, or what he had deserved from him. But Ptolemy not being having himself with more friendship to him, now that he had thrown himself into his hands, than when he was his enemy, orders him to close confinement. Antiochus makes his escape from hence, by deceiving his keepers, thro' the assistance of a certain courtesan, with whom he had had an intrigue; but in his flight fell into the hands of robbers, who slew him. Seleucus too much about the same time, losing his kingdom, died of a fall from his horse. Thus these brothers, as they were brothers not only in blood, but in misfortunes, being both exiles after their reign, suffered the punishment due to their crimes:

BOOK XXVIII.

A SUMMARY of the CHAPTERS.

- I. *Olympias, the widow of Alexander king of Epire marries her daughter Pthia to Demetrius king of Macedonia, which occasions sad and bloody wars.*
- II. *The haughty answer of the Ætolians to the Romans, who assisted the Acarnanians. They take up arms resolutely.*
- III. *Olympias does not long survive the death of her two sons. Her daughter Laodamia murdered by the people. The great calamities that befall Epire. The death of Demetrius king of Macedonia. Antigonus is declared tutor to Philip son of Demetrius, and prudently governs his pupil's kingdom.*
- IV. *Antigonus makes war against the Spartans. Cleomenes their king flies into Egypt, where he is killed. Philip takes the administration into his own hands, upon the death of Antigonus.*

CHAP. I.

Olympias the daughter of Pyrrhus king of Epire, after the decease of Alexander, who was both her brother and her husband, took upon herself the administration of the kingdom, and the guardianship of his two sons Pyrrhus and Ptolemy. The Ætolians having an inclination to take that part of Acarnania which had been given to the father of the orphans, as his share, for the services he had done in the war, she addressed herself to Demetrius king of Macedonia, and gives him her daughter Pthia in marriage, tho' he was already married to a sister of Antiochus king of Syria, that she might, by the right of this alliance, procure that assistance from him, which had been refused to compassion: wherefore a marriage was celebrated; but if he gained the favour of a new wife, he contracted

the hatred of the former ; for she, as if divorced, departed of her own accord to her brother Antiochus and stir him up to make war against her husband. The Acarnanians distrusting the Epirites, implored the assistance of the Romans against the Ætolians, and obtained from the Roman senate, that ambassadors should be sent, to order the Ætolians to withdraw their garrison out of the cities of Acarnania, and leave those people in the possession of their liberty, who were the only ones that formerly had not sent assistance to the Greeks against the Trojans, from whom they derived their origin.

CHAP. II. But the Ætolians received the embassy of the Romans with disdain, and upbraided them with their being so often beat by the Carthaginians and Gauls ; telling them, that they ought first to open the gates of their own city, which their fear of the Carthaginians had shut, before they thought of carrying their arms into Greece. Then they bid them remember who they were that threaten'd, and whom they threaten'd ; that they had not been able to defend their own city against the Gauls ; and when it was taken, had not recovered it by dint of sword, but by money : that when this nation afterwards entered Greece with a somewhat greater army, they had totally extirpated them without any foreign aid, nay, without employing all their own troops ; and made that country a place of burial for them, of which they had arrogantly promised themselves the dominion, and where they thought of erecting cities. That on the other side, the Romans, whilst they were still trembling for the late burning of their city, were almost entirely dispossest'd of Italy by the Gauls : wherefore they ought to expell the Gauls out of Italy, before they threaten'd the Ætolians, and thought of taxing what belong'd to other people. And what men were the Romans ? shepherds forsooth, who had possess'd themselves by violence of some lands, out of which they had driven the lawful owners ; who not being able to find women willing to marry with them, because of their base extraction, were forced to take women by stealth : a race, in fine, which had founded their city on parricide, and
polluted

polluted its foundations with the blood of their founder's brother. Whereas the Ætolians, on the other hand, had always been the leading people in Greece; and as they excelled the rest in dignity of extract, so likewise did they surpass them in valour. In one word, that they were the only nation who looked with contempt upon the Macedonian, even in the height of their power; the only nation who did not tremble before king Philip; the only one that dared to despise the edicts of Alexander, after the Persian and Indians had been conquer'd by him, and when all people dreaded his name: wherefore he advised the Romans to be content with their present fortune, and not provoke the arms which they knew had been so fatal to the Gauls, and had braved the Macedonians. Having thus dismissed the Roman embassador, that they might not be branded with boasting more than they durst attempt, they ravaged the frontiers of Epire and Acarnania.

CHAP. III. Olympias had now delivered up the kingdom to the administration of her sons; and Ptolemy had succeeded to his deceased father; who, as he march'd at the head of his troop, to meet the enemy, was surprized by an indisposition, of which he died on the way. Olympias, sensibly afflicted by the loss of her two sons, languished for a little time, but did not long survive them. So now there was none remaining of the royal family, but the young princess Nereis, and her sister Laodamia; the former of whom married Gelo, son to the king of Sicily, and the other lost her life by the rage of a mob at the altar of Diana, to which she had fled for sanctuary. This atrocious crime the immortal gods sufficiently revenged by the continual slaughter, and almost total destruction of that whole people: for after having been distressed by dearth and famine, and by civil animosities, they were almost wholly consumed, at last, by foreign wars. And Milo, the assassin of Laodamia, running mad, tried to dispatch himself, sometimes with the sword, and sometimes with stones; and at last, by tearing his bowels out with his teeth, he died the twelfth day after. While these things happened in Epire, king Demetrius dies in Macedonia,

cedonia, leaving behind him his son Philip, very young. During his minority, Antigonus was assigned to him to be his guardian; who having married the mother, used all his efforts to make himself king: and, some time after, being besieged in his palace by a menaceful mob of the Macedonians, he went out amongst them, without his guards, and throwing his diadem and scarlet robe to them, he bids them give these to some body else, who either knew not how to govern them, or whom they knew better how to obey; saying, that he had hitherto only known regal majesty, not by the pleasures, but the dangers and fatigues, and the envy to which it exposed him. Then he recounts the services he had done them; how he had severely punished their allies who had revolted; how he had repressed the insolence of the Dardanians and Thessalians in rejoicing at the death of Demetrius: in fine, how he had not only defended, but increased the honour of the Macedonians; that if these services gave them umbrage or sorrow, he was ready to resign the government, and return them the present they had made him; so that they might look out for a prince whom they could govern as they pleased. When the people, moved with shame, bid him take the regal authority upon him, he refused, 'till the ringleaders of this sedition were delivered up to condign punishment.

C H A P. IV. After this, he made war upon the Spartans, who alone, during the wars of Philip and Alexander, had despised the power and arms of the Macedonians, dreaded by every other nation. The war was carried on between these two famous nations with great vigour on both sides; while the one fought for the antient glory of the Macedonians, and the other not only for their hitherto unviolated liberty, but for their lives. The Lacedemonians being conquered, not only themselves, but their wives and children, sustained their bad fortune with great constancy of mind. For as none of the men spared himself in the field, so no woman lamented for the death of her husband: the old men extoll'd the honourable fall of their sons; and the sons rejoiced when their fathers had the honour to die

on the spot. In short, all who survived, only regretted their unhappiness in not having fallen for the liberty of their country. All the houses in the city were open to the wounded, that they might be refreshed, and have their wounds dressed. In this sad juncture of affairs, there was no noise, no hurry in the city; and every one bewail'd the public misery more than his own private loss. Mean while, king Cleomenes arrived, all cover'd over with his own blood, and the enemy's, having made a terrible slaughter of them; and entering the city, he neither sat down, nor called for meat or drink; nay, did not put off his arms, but supporting himself against a wall, when he saw that only four thousand men had escaped the battle, he exhorted them to reserve themselves for a better time; and then he set out with his wife and children for Egypt, to king Ptolemy; by whom being honourably received, he lived a long time with him in the highest respect. But after the death of Ptolemy, he, with all his family, was cut off by his son. Antigonus, after the Spartans were so sadly defeated, pitying the hard fate of a city that had formerly been so potent, restrained his soldiers from pillaging it, and granted his pardon to all who were left; declaring, that he had engaged in that war with Cleomenes, not with the Spartans; and that since he had withdrawn, his resentment was over; and that he should reckon it no less glorious for him to be transmitted to posterity, as the saviour of Lacedemon, than as its conqueror: that for this reason he spared the houses, and the seat of the city, since no men were left for him to spare. Not long after, he died, and left the kingdom to his pupil Philip, who was not fourteen years old.

B O O K XXIX.

A SUMMARY of the CHAPTERS.

- I. *Many changes in the world, occasioned by change of masters; especially in Afric, Egypt, and Macedonia.*
- II. *Philip, king of Macedonia, instigated by bad counsel to make war against the Romans.*
- III. *With what specious pretences he coloured his design.*
- IV. *At last he openly declared against the Romans. The ignominious and pernicious events of this war.*

C H A P. I.

ABout this time, almost all the kingdoms in the world underwent alterations, by a new race of masters. For in Macedonia, Philip, after the death of Antigonus, who was both his step-father and tutor, took upon him the government. And in Asia, after Seleucus was slain, Antiochus, tho' yet in his minority, was made king. His father had also resigned to Ariarathes, a meer boy, the kingdom of Cappadocia. Ptolemy, having taken off both his father and mother, had possessed himself of Egypt, and had the ironical surname of Philopater for this crime. The Spartans put Lycurgus into the room of Cleomenes. And that no nation might be exempt from change, the Carthaginians made Annibal general, when he was under age; not for want of more experienced persons, but because they knew he had been bred up from his childhood in hatred of the Romans, to whom, however, he did not prove so fatal as to the Carthaginians themselves. Tho' these young kings had no old governors to direct them, yet, as they proceeded each in the foot-steps of his ancestors, there appeared in each a genius that promised great things. Only Ptolemy, as he came villainously to his kingdom, so was he remiss in the administration of it. The Dardanians, and all other neighbouring nations, who had

an implacable animosity against the kings of Macedonia, despising king Philip's youth, were perpetually annoying his territories. On the other hand, he having vigorously repulsed his enemies, not content to defend his own dominions, eagerly sought an opportunity of attacking the Ætolians.

CHAP. II. While he was intent upon this design, Demetrius, king of the Illyrians, who had been lately conquered by Paulus the Roman consul, addresses him with importunate entreaties; complaining of the injustice of the Romans, who, not satisfied with the limits of Italy, dared to grasp, with confident hopes, at the empire of the universe, and made war upon all kings. In order to get the dominion of Sicily, Sardinia, and Spain, they had taken arms against the Carthaginians and Annibal; and now they had attacked him for no other reason, but because he was their neighbour; that he ought to take warning from the example, seeing the nearer and more powerful his kingdom was, the more eager the Romans would be to seize upon it. He added, that he resigned the kingdom freely to him, of which the Romans had stript him, and should be much better pleased to see an ally, than an inveterate enemy, in possession of it. By such language as this, he prevailed with Philip to lay aside his designs against Ætolia, and to turn his arms against the Romans: Philip imagining there would be the less difficulty in the matter, since Annibal, as he had heard, had defeated them at the lake of Thrasymene. Therefore, that he might not be entangled in many wars at one and the same time, he made peace with the Ætolians; not as if he had intended to carry the war elsewhere, but as if he had done it out of regard to Greece, which he affirmed had never been in greater danger than now: that the two new empires of the Carthaginians and Romans in the west, were easily kept from pouring in their forces upon Greece and Asia, 'till they should decide the contest between them, for the empire of the world, by the sword: but that the conqueror, whoever he was, would immediately march into the east.

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C H A P. III. He added, that he saw a terrible and bloody war brooding over Italy: that he beheld the tempest coming roaring and thundering from the west; and that to whatever part of the world victory should drive this hideous impending cloud, it would certainly discharge itself in a vast shower of blood: that Greece had frequently suffered great commotions; one while by the wars of the Spartans, another while by the wars of the Gauls, and another by those of the Macedonians; but that they should think all this but sport, whenever those forces, which were now drawing together in Italy, came to pour themselves out of that country. That he foresaw what cruel and bloody wars those people would carry on between themselves, as well from the numbers of their armies, as the experience and conduct of their generals; which fury could not end in the destruction of one of the parties, without ruining the neighbouring kingdoms: that the savage conqueror was indeed less to be fear'd by Macedonia than by Greece, because it was both further from them, and more able to defend itself: yet he knew that those who engaged with such resolution and force, would not be content with that boundary of their conquest; for which cause even he had reason to apprehend a contest with the conqueror. Having put a period to the war with the *Ætolians* upon this pretence, thinking now of nothing else but the war of the *Carthaginians* and *Romans*, he began to weigh the strength of each. But the *Romans*, tho' the *Carthaginians* and *Annibal* were upon their necks, did not seem quite free from fears of the *Macedonians*. For both their ancient bravery, and the glory they had acquired by conquering the east, gave them terror. Besides, they were not ignorant that *Philip* burnt with a warm emulation to equal the exploits of *Alexander the Great*; and that he loved war, and was a very active prince.

C H A P. IV. Wherefore *Philip*, so soon as he had got intelligence that the *Romans* were defeated by the *Carthaginians* in another battle, began to build ships for transporting his forces into Italy. After this, he sends

an ambassador with letters to Annibal, to invite him to an alliance with him ; but the ambassador being intercepted , and carried before the senate, was dismissed safe, not so much out of respect to the king, as that they might not render one, who had not yet fully determined himself, a certain enemy. But afterwards, when the Romans understood that Philip made preparations for carrying his forces into Italy, they dispatch Lævinus the prætor with a fleet, well equipp'd, to hinder his passage ; who landing in Greece, prevails upon the Ætolians, by his large promises to them, to turn their arms against Philip. Philip, on his side, solicited the Achæans to declare war against the Romans. In the mean time, the Dardanians were ravaging the frontiers of Macedonia, and having carried off twenty thousand prisoners, obliged Philip to drop his design of a Roman war, to defend his territories. At the same time, Lævinus the prætor having concluded an alliance with king Attalus, pillages Greece at his discretion. This cast such a dread into several cities there, that they wearied Philip with embassies, importuning his assistance. The kings of Illyrium, sticking close to his ribs, demanded, with unceasing importunity, the fulfilment of his promises. On the other hand, the plundered Macedonians pressed him to revenge their sufferings. Being perplexed by so many and so great difficulties, he could not tell what to do first. However, he flattered them all, that he would forthwith send them assistance ; not that he could do what he promised, but that he might keep them in his alliance by feeding them with hopes. Yet his first expedition was against the Dardanians, who watching for the opportunity of his absence, were ready to fall upon Macedonia with a heavier force than before. He likewise makes peace with the Romans, who were content to put off the war they had designed against him, for that time. At last, being inform'd that Philopœmen, the general of the Achæans, had been using all his interest to bring over his allies to the Romans, he laid an ambuscade for his life : but the other having discovered and avoided this plot, he prevailed with the Achæans, by the authority he had with them, to abandon them.

B O O K XXX.

A SUMMARY of the CHAPTERS.

- I. *The luxury and parricides of Ptolemy king of Egypt.*
- II. *The miserable condition of Egypt, under that ignominious and contemptible prince. The tragical end of his whore, and of the panders to his pleasures.*
- III. *After his death, the Romans take his son into their protection, and defend him against Antiochus king of Syria, and Philip king of Macedonia.*
- IV. *A terrible earthquake. The Romans refuse peace to Philip. Philip and Flaminius prepare their armies for battle. The Romans are victorious, and Philip is deprived of his dominions.*

C H A P. I.

WHilst Philip was intent upon these mighty projects in Macedonia, the conduct of Ptolemy in Egypt was very different: for having got his kingdom by parricide, and having added the murder of his brother to that of his father and mother, he wholly abandoned himself to his pleasures, as if all things had succeeded very well with him; and all the court imitated his example. Wherefore, not only his friends and deputies, but likewise the whole army, laying aside all military exercises, languished in idleness and effeminacy. Antiochus king of Syria, being inform'd of this, and being pushed on at the same time, by the ancient animosity between these two kingdoms, all on the sudden attack'd several cities belonging to this prince, and carried his arms even into Egypt itself. This put Ptolemy into a sad consternation, so he endeavour'd to amuse Antiochus by embassies, 'till he could raise a sufficient force; and then hiring a great army in Greece, he gives battle to his enemy, and would have stript him of his kingdom, if his good fortune had been accompanied with suitable conduct;

conduct ; but satisfied with recovering the cities he had lost, and making peace with Antiochus, he greedily seizes this opportunity of returning to quiet ; thus his former luxury recoiling upon him, he put his wife Eurydice to death, who was likewise his sister ; and he is entangled by the charms of a whore, Agathoclea. And so losing all sense and remembrance of his rank and majesty, he wasted his nights in debauchery, and his days in feasts. To keep his luxury from palling, all the incitements of it were brought ; all sorts of instruments of music were added to his entertainments. Neither was it enough for the king to be a spectator, but acting like the master of the revel, he touched some stringed instrument himself. These were the secret hidden pests of this degenerate tottering court.

CH A P. II. This licentiousness encreasing daily, the impudence of the harlot could not be confined within the palace : and what contributed to render her still more audacious was, that her brother Agathocles, a prostitute youth of captivating beauty, shared the king with her, and minister'd to his infamous pleasures. To this was added the credit of their mother Oenanthe, who managed the king as she pleased, by the charms of her son and daughter. Wherefore, not content to possess and govern the king, they now likewise pretend to govern the kingdom ; and appear in public, and are saluted, and magnificently attended. Agathocles, who was inseparable from the king's person, ruled the city ; the women disposed of all governments, commands, and places of honour : nor was there any person who had less power in the kingdom than the king himself. Amidst these ignominious disorders, the king dies, leaving behind him a son of five years old, by Euridice. But his death was long concealed, 'till these women had carried off his money, and had formed a confederacy with some desperate villains to usurp the kingdom. But at last, the truth being known, the people rushed together, and killed Agathocles, and nailed his mother and sister upon crosses, to revenge the death of Euridice. Upon the king's death, the infamy of the kingdom being as it were expiated by the punishment of the
whores,

whores, the Alexandrians sent ambassadors to the Romans, begging them to take upon them the guardianship of the young prince, and the protection of Egypt, which, they said, Philip and Antiochus had already divided between themselves, by a treaty made for that purpose.

C H A P. III. This embassy was acceptable to the Romans, who were seeking an occasion for turning their arms against Philip, who had enter'd into treacherous measures against them in the Punic war. What the more encouraged them was, that Annibal and the Carthaginians were now conquered, and there was none whose arms they feared more; especially when they considered what commotions Pyrrhus had raised in Italy, with a handful of Macedonians, and what great things that warlike nation had done in the east. Wherefore they sent ambassadors to Philip and Antiochus, to tell them to beware of making any attempt upon Egypt. At the same time, M. Lepidus is sent into Egypt, to govern that country, in the character of guardian to the young orphan. During these transactions, the embassies of king Attalus, and the Rhodians, came to Rome, to complain of the injuries they had suffered from king Philip; which complaints put an end to all further hesitation in the senate, with regard to the Macedonian war: and therefore, without delay, under colour of carrying assistance to their allies, war is declared against Philip; and they sent a consul with some legions, into Macedonia. And not long after, all Greece depending upon the Romans, in hopes of recovering their former liberty, rose up against Philip, and made war upon him. And thus the king being distressed on all hands, was obliged to sue for peace. But when the Romans declared the terms, both Attalus, the Rhodians, Achæans, and Ætolians, demanded restitution from Philip, of the places he had taken from them. On the other hand, Philip granted that he might perhaps be brought to submit to the Romans, but that he could never bear that the Greeks, who had been conquered by his ancestors Philip and Alexander, and made subjects of the Macedonian empire, should, as conquerors,

ers, prescribe articles of peace to him; they who ought rather to think of giving an account of their conduct in their state of subjection, than of reclaiming their liberty. At last, however, a truce of two months was granted at his request, that the terms of peace, about which they could not agree in Macedonia, might be sued for at Rome from the senate.

CH A P. IV. This same year an earthquake happened betwixt the islands of Thera and Therasia, where, to the no small astonishment of those that were sailing in that arm of the sea, on a sudden, an island rose out of the deep with a great effervescence. In Asia too, the same day, the same earthquake shatter'd Rhodes, and many other cities, in a terrible manner, and some it entirely swallowed up. As these prodigies caused an universal fear, the soothsayers gave out, that they presaged that the growing empire of the Romans would certainly devour the ancient one of the Greeks and Macedonians. In this interval, the senate having refused to make peace with Philip, he solicits the tyrant Nabis to join him in the war. And so after he had drawn out his army into the field, the enemy being in order of battle, and ready to engage with them, he encouraged his men by telling them, that the Persians, Bactrians, and Indians, and all Asia, to the utmost bounds of the East, had been conquered by the Macedonians; and this war was so much the more bravely to be maintained than those wars, by how much the more liberty was more precious than empire. But on the other side, Flaminius, the Roman consul, animated his soldiers by recounting to them the exploits they had lately perform'd. He put them in mind, on one side, how Carthage with Sicily, and on the other, how Italy with Spain, had been subdued by the Roman valour: adding, that Annibal was not to be postponed to Alexander the Great; and how, by beating him out of Italy, they had conquered Africa, which was a third part of the world. That the Macedonians were not to be estimated by their ancient reputation, but their present strength, because they did not carry on a war against Alexander the Great, whom they had heard called invincible, nor with his army,

my, which had over-run all the East, but with Philip a youth without experience, who was hardly able to defend the frontiers of his own kingdom against his neighbours, and with those Macedonians, who had lately been a prey to the Dardanians. They recount the glorious performances of their forefathers, but he only mentioned the brave actions of his own soldiers: for by this very army had Annibal, and the Carthaginians, and almost all the West been conquer'd. The soldiers on both sides, roused by the harangues of their generals, encounter; the one side glorying in their conquest of the East, and the other in that of the West; the former carrying to the battle the ancient, and as it were obsolete glory of their ancestors, the other a braver yet in its bloom, and that had very lately given eminent demonstrations of what it was able to do. But the Roman fortune was superior to that of the Macedonians. Philip being much reduced by this war begged peace from the consul Flaminius; who leaving him the title of a king, and the ancient territory of Macedonia, took from him all those cities he possessed in Greece, lopping them off as extraneous members, that did not belong to his kingdom. Yet the Ætolians taking umbrage that the consul did not likewise strip him of Macedonia, and give it to them, as a recompence for their services, sent ambassadors to Antiochus, who, by flattering him with his greatness, and by promising him the assistance of all Greece, should endeavour to engage him to take up arms against the Romans.

B O O K XXXI.

A SUMMARY of the CHAPTERS.

I. *The Romans send ambassadors to Antiochus king of Syria, to dissuade him from his design upon Egypt. They order Greece to be delivered from the tyranny of Nabis. The name of Annibal strikes terror into the Romans.*

II. *Annibal,*

- II. *Annibal, to avoid falling into the hands of the Romans, flies to king Antiochus.*
- III. *Nabis, defeated in two battles, takes up arms again, after the departure of the Romans. Annibal's counsel to Antiochus, how to subdue the Romans.*
- IV. *Antiochus would persuade the Carthaginians to take up arms. They inform the Romans of it, who, by their cunning policy, make Antiochus jealous of Annibal.*
- V. *Annibal consults Antiochus afresh to carry the war into Italy against the Romans.*
- VI. *Antiochus's flatterers laugh at it. From hence we may date his ruin. The Romans defeat him by sea and land.*
- VII. *The two Scipio's arrive with their army in Asia; and propose articles of peace to Antiochus, which he rejects.*
- VIII. *Fifty thousand Asiatics are slain upon the spot. Antiochus is forced to sue for peace, and he obtains it.*

CHAP. I.

ANtiochus, king of Syria, despising the infancy of the new king of Egypt, who, after the death of Ptolemy Philopater his father, was a prey even to his domesticks, formed a design to seize the dominions of this young prince. Therefore having already invaded Phœnicia, and several cities in Syria, which, of right, belonged to Egypt, the senate sends embassadors to him, to charge him to forbear meddling with the kingdom of an orphan committed to their protection by the last prayers of his dying father. But he making light of this embassy, some time after another was sent, which, without mentioning the rights of the orphan, ordered him to restore to their former state, the cities that were become, by the rights of war, the Roman people's. Upon his refusal, war was declared against him, which was managed as unfortunately, as it was rashly undertaken. At the same time, the tyrant Nabis had possessed himself of several cities of Greece. Wherefore the senate, to avoid the disadvantage of being obliged to divide the Roman forces, wrote to Flaminius, that he

he would, if he thought it expedient, deliver Greece from Nabis, as he had Macedonia from Philip. For this effect, his commission was prolonged. Annibal's name rendered this war with Antiochus more terrible for his rivals, excited by a spirit of envy, accused him by private messages to the Romans, of having made a secret league with Antiochus; alledging, that this man who had always been inured to command, and to military arbitrariness, could never submit to live according to the laws; and that being weary of the tranquility which Carthage then enjoy'd, he was always upon the watch for a new occasion of war: and these surmises, tho' utterly false, went easily down with a timorous people.

C H A P. II. The senate, at last, being alarm'd, sent Cnæus Servilius into Africa, to enquire into the conduct of Annibal, and gave him private instructions to destroy him, if it were possible, by means of his enemies at Carthage, and to deliver the Roman people from a name so odious and terrible to them. But these designs were not long concealed from the sagacity of Annibal, a man equally dextrous at foreseeing and warding off dangers; who in prosperity was provident against cross events, and in adversity was thoughtful about the measures proper to be pursued in good fortune. Wherefore, after having appeared the whole day in public before the chiefs of Carthage, and the Roman embassador, towards the evening he took horse, and made off to an estate of his in the suburbs, near the sea, giving orders to his servants, who knew nothing of his designs, to wait for him at one of the gates of the city. Here he had provided himself with gallies and rowers that lay hid in a private creek. There was likewise in readiness a large sum of money, that whenever he should be obliged to make his escape, nothing might retard or hinder his going off. Thus chusing out, to accompany him, the flower of his slaves, the number of whom was considerably augmented by the prisoners he had taken in Italy, he embarked and sailed directly towards Antiochus. The next day the citizens waited in the forum, for the coming of their general, who was at that time
likewise

likewise their consul. When news was brought that he was gone off, they were all in no less consternation, than if their city had been taken, and foreboded that his flight would prove their ruin. But the Roman ambassador, as if war had been already begun in Italy by Annibal, returns privately to Rome, and brought the dismal news with him.

C H A P. III. In the mean time, Flaminius in Greece, having made a confederacy with several cities, defeated the tyrant Nabis in two successive battles, and left him miserably disabled, and quite dispirited, in a corner of his own kingdom. But after liberty was restored to Greece, the garrisons were withdrawn from the cities, and the Roman army commanded home into Italy. Nabis, tempted by this favourable opportunity, fell unawares upon several cities, and possessed himself of them; as if, having no master, they belong'd to the first man that would seize them. The Achæans, terrified lest this near mischief should spread to them, resolve upon a war against Nabis, and choose Philopœmen to be their general; a man of noted industry, who had given such distinguishing proofs of his bravery during this war, that he was equalled, in the esteem of all the people, to Flaminius the Roman commander. At the same time, Annibal arrived at Antiochus's court, and was received there as a present from the gods. His coming animated the king to such a degree of courage, that he did not employ his thoughts so much how to prosecute the war, as how to divide the rewards of a victory, which he looked upon as certain. But Annibal, who well knew the Roman strength, was positive that it was impossible to vanquish them but in Italy. For this expedition he demanded a hundred ships, ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse; promising, with these forces, to revive in Italy no less a flame than he had formerly done; and while the king remained quietly at home, to bring him back either a compleat victory over the Romans, or equitable terms of peace; for, he said, nothing but a leader was wanting to the Spaniards, to make them take the field, so inflamed were they with a desire of war; and that he now knew Italy
much

much better than he did before ; and he was sure that Carthage would not be quiet, but join him upon the first motion.

C H A P. IV. This advice mightily pleased the king ; so one of those who had accompanied Annibal into Asia, was immediately dispatched to Carthage, to encourage those who were forward enough of themselves to take up arms ; and to tell them, that Annibal would come with an army ; that the princes whose interests he embraced, wanted nothing but the good-will of the Carthaginians, and that Asia would furnish abundantly with all that was necessary for the charges of the war. When the report of these affairs was spread in Carthage, the messenger was seized by some of Annibal's enemies, and brought before the senate ; where being interrogated to whom he was sent, he, like a subtle Carthaginian, cunningly answered, to all the senate ; for the affair did not concern a few particulars only, but all in general. While some days were taken up in deliberation, whether they should send him to Rome, to clear the public from having any hand in this guile, he privately gets on ship-board, and makes his escape to Annibal. The Carthaginians being apprized of his departure, dispatched an express to Rome, to let them know what had happened. The Romans likewise sent ambassadors to Antiochus, who, under the colour of bringing an embassy, might observe the king's preparations, and either soften Annibal's aversion to the Romans, or by their continued correspondence with him, render him suspected and odious to the prince. Wherefore the ambassadors coming to Antiochus at Ephesus, deliver the senate's message to him. All the time they waited for an answer, they were continually with Annibal ; and incessantly suggesting to him that he had left his country too timorously, since the Romans would inviolably preserve the peace made, not so much with his republic, as with himself : that they were persuaded the war he had carried on against the Romans proceeded rather from his zeal for his own country, for which all good men would sacrifice their lives, than from any particular hatred to them : for 'twas not, said they, the animosities

animosities of generals, but the interferences of national interests, that were the true springs of this war. Then they magnified his great exploits: and this discourse so flattered him, that he took pleasure in conversing frequently with these ambassadors; not aware that by his familiarity with the Romans, he was bringing the king's hatred upon him. For Antiochus, suspecting a good understanding with the Romans had been effected by their frequent converse, hid his designs from him, and treated him, not with the confidence he had formerly used him, but as an enemy and a traitor, that ought to be kept out of his councils. This distrust effectually ruin'd all their mighty preparations for war, there being now none to conduct them with due prudence. The senate's embassy was, that he would content himself with Asia, and not force the Romans to come thither with an army. He rejected this demand, and resolved not to stay 'till the war was brought into his own country, but to begin it.

CH A P. V. It is said, that after he had held several councils of war, into which Annibal was not admitted, he at last ordered him to be summoned; not that he intended to act by his advice in any matter, but that he might not appear wholly to despise him; and having asked all the rest their opinions, he, at length, asked his. Annibal, sensible of the real state of the matter, declared, he knew that he had not been called upon for his advice, but to fill up the number of counsellors; yet he would honestly tell the king his sentiments about the proper way of carrying on the war; both out of his hatred to the Romans, and love to the king, with whom alone he had found a secure retreat in his banishment. Then bespeaking pardon for the freedom he was about to take, he said, he could not approve of any of the present undertakings or counsels; nor did he like Greece for the seat of the war, but thought Italy by far a more proper scene for it; for the Romans could not be subdued, but by their own arms; nor Italy be conquered any other way, than by its own strength: because they were a people of a very different genius from the rest of mankind; as was their way of fighting

fighting likewise very different from that of all other nations. In other countries it was a considerable advantage to have had the benefit of first taking any opportunity of time, or place, to have ravaged the enemy's fields, or to have seized some places: with the Romans it was not so; for though you should take places, and get battle after battle upon them, yet you must still have a violent struggle with this very enemy, whom you looked upon to be vanquish'd and undone: wherefore if any one would attack them in Italy, he might use their own power and wealth against them, as he had already experienced. But if any one quit Italy to them, the fountain as it were of their strength, to contend with them was as absurd, as it would be to attempt to turn the course of a river, or dry it up; not at the fountain head, but where there was a great conjunction of streams. That this was his private sentiments; and that he had often frankly spoke it out, and offered his service to put it in execution; and that he now repeated it in the presence of his friends, that they might all know the only way of waging war against the Romans, who were invincible abroad, but might be easily conquered at home; for one might sooner take their city, than their empire from them; and much more easily strip them of Italy, than of the provinces they had joined to it: thus the Gauls had taken Rome; and by the same method he himself had brought them to the very brink of destruction; that he was never broken by them 'till he had quitted their country; and that upon his returning to Carthage, the fortune of the war changed with the theatre of it.

C H A P. VI. The king's friends all opposed this advice, not regarding what advantages it might bring, but fearing lest Annibal, if his advice was approved of, should become the first man in the king's favour. As for the king, he did not so much dislike the counsel, as the giver of it, lest the glory of the victory should be Annibal's, and not his. So that all was marred by the flatteries of those who made it their business to soothe the king. Nothing was conducted with any degree of reason or prudence. The king abandoned himself

to his pleasures all the winter, and every day celebrated some new wedding. On the other hand, Acilius the Roman consul, who had been sent to this war, provided arms, forces, and all necessaries for carrying it on with the utmost vigilance; animated the confederated cities, and left no measures untried to keep those who wavered, firm to his interests. Nor was the event of the war contrary to the preparations for it: for the enemies troops being broken at the first onset, Antiochus, who perceived their disorder, did not give any assistance to his men in distress, but put himself at the head of those that fled, and left his rich camp to the conquerors. Then after he had got by flight into Asia, while the Romans were busy plundering, he began to repent his flighting the advice that had been given him; and taking Annibal again into his friendship, managed all things by his advice. In the mean time, news is brought, that Æmilius the Roman general was advancing with eighty brazen-beaked ships, with which he was sent by the senate to carry on the war by sea; which news revived his hopes of retrieving his fortune. Therefore, before the cities in alliance with him could revolt to the enemy, he resolved to try a sea engagement, hoping to repair the losses he had sustained in Greece, by a new victory. Wherefore the fleet being entrusted to Annibal, a battle was fought. But neither were the Asiatic soldiers a match for the Roman, nor their ships for those of the enemy, armed with brazen beaks. However, the loss was less than it would otherwise have been, by the dextrous management of the general. The fame of the victory had not yet reached Rome, and therefore the city was in suspense about the election of the consuls.

CHAP. VII. But what fitter person could they choose consul, to oppose Annibal, than the brother of Africanus? since it was the hereditary honour of the Scipio's to conquer the Carthaginians. Wherefore Lucius Scipio is elected consul, and his brother Africanus is appointed his lieutenant, that Antiochus might see that he had not greater confidence in conquer'd Annibal, than the Romans in the conqueror Scipio. As the Scipio's were transporting their troops into Asia, news
was

was brought them, that the war was almost at an end both by land and sea; they found that Antiochus had been defeated by a battle by land, and Annibal in one by sea. Wherefore, upon their first arrival, Antiochus sent embassadors to them, desiring peace; carrying with them Africanus his son, as a particular present whom the king had taken, as he was passing over in a small ship. But Africanus said, that private good offices were not to be confounded with affairs of public concern, and that the duties of a father were one thing and the rights of one's country another; a right to be preferred, not only to children, but to life itself: wherefore he thankfully accepted the present, and would make a return to the king's generosity, out of his private fortune. As for what regarded war and peace, he could make no allowances to favour, nor give up any thing belonging to the interests of his country, in consideration of private obligations. In fine, he would neither treat about the ransom of his son, nor suffer the senate to treat about it; but, as it became his dignity, he would recover him by the force of arms. After this, the conditions of peace were declared, which were; that Asia should be given up to the Romans, and that Antiochus should be content with the kingdom of Syria, deliver up his ships, prisoners and deserters, and repay all the charges of the war to the Romans. When these terms were laid before Antiochus, he answered, that he was not yet reduced to such a desperate plight, as to suffer himself to be stripped of his kingdom; and that these proposals were rather incentives to war, than inducements to peace.

C H A P. VIII. Wherefore, when great preparations on both sides were making for war, and the Romans having entered Asia, were come to Ilium, the Ælians and the Romans mutually congratulated one another; the former maintaining that Æneas, and the other leaders with him, derived their extraction from them; the latter rejoicing that they were descended from such a race: and the joy of all was as great as when parents and children meet again, after a long absence. Those of Ilium were not a little pleased that
their

their descendants, after conquering the West and Africa, now claimed Asia, as the hereditary kingdom of their ancestors ; saying, that the ruin of Troy was desirable, since it had revived again with so much glory in Rome. On the other hand, the Romans were seized with high delight in viewing the home of their forefathers, and the ancient seat of their ancestors. King Eumenes met the Romans marching from Ilium with auxiliary forces ; and not long after, a battle was fought with Antiochus, in which engagement one of the legions on the right wing giving way, fled to the camp with more disgrace than danger. M. Æmilius, a military tribune, who had been left for the defence of the camp, orders his soldiers to arm themselves, and to advance without the ramparts, and with sword in hand threaten those fugitives, that they should die, unless they returned to the battle ; and that they should find their own camps hotter for them than that of the enemy. The legion, affrighted at the danger which environed them on all sides, returned to the fight, accompanied with those fellow soldiers who had thus hindered them from flying, and gave the first turn to the victory, by the terrible havock they made of the enemy. Fifty thousand of the enemy were slain, and eleven thousand were taken. Upon Antiochus's suing for peace, nothing was added to the former terms, Africanus declaring that neither was the courage of the Romans abated, when they were defeated, nor did success make them insolent. The Romans divided the cities that were taken amongst their allies ; thinking glory was more suitable to them than possessions, that were but too apt to cherish luxury : for the honour of victory was all the Roman name claimed ; and the luxury of wealth they left to their allies.

B O O K XXXII.

A SUMMARY of the CHAPTERS.

- I. *The Etolians lose their liberty. War between the Messenians and Achæans. Philopœmen taken and poison'd. The Messenians defeated.*
- II. *Antiochus king of Syria slain in his attempt to pillage the temple of Jupiter. The Roman senate favourable to Philip, upon the account of his son Demetrius. Philip, induced by the wicked artifices of his son Perseus, condemns this prince.*
- III. *Philip's death. His preparations for war against the Romans. He brings over the Gauls to his party. An account of the wanderings of this people, after the death of Brennus their leader.*
- IV. *War between Eumenes and Prusias. Prusias gets the better by a stratagem of Annibal. A peace between those two kings. Annibal poisons himself. His character.*

C H A P. I.

THE Ætolians, who had induced Antiochus to the war with the Romans, were, after his defeat, left to deal with them by themselves, both unequal to the Romans in forces, and wholly destitute of all assistance. And being, not long after, subdued, they lost their liberty, which they alone, of so many Grecian states, had preserved unviolated, by the growing power of Athens and Lacedemon. This misfortune fell so much the heavier upon them, that it came late; and they reflected with deep sorrow upon those happy times when, without any foreign support, they had withstood the mighty power of the Persians, and humbled, at Delphos, the insolence of the Gauls, who were then so formidable to Asia and Italy. The remembrance of these glorious actions augmented their grief for their present

resent slavery. In the mean while, at first a difference, and soon after a war broke out between the Messenians and Achæans, about the superiority. In it Philopœmen was taken, not thro' his cowardice, but endeavouring to rally his soldiers: being thrown by his horse, as he was going to leap a ditch, he was over-powered by the numbers of his enemies. The Messenians durst not kill him as he lay on the ground, either awed by his courage, or by his dignity: wherefore, as if they had ended the war by taking him, they led their captive in triumph thro' their whole city; the people crowding to see him, as if he had been their own general, and not the enemy's. The Achæans themselves could not have revered him with more joy, had he returned with victory, than the Achæans now beheld him vanquished. That all might have the pleasure of seeing him whom every one thought it impossible to take, they ordered him to be brought to the theatre. After that, being led to prison, in regard to his greatness, they gave him poison; which he received as joyfully as if he triumph'd over them that gave it him; having first asked whether Lycortas, an Achæan commander, whom he knew to be second to himself in the military art, was safe; when he was told that he had escaped, he expired, saying, 'The Achæans are not then in so desperate a condition.' Not long after, the war being renewed, the Messenians were conquered, and suffered the punishment they deserved, for murdering Philopœmen.

CH A P. II. In the mean time, Antiochus king of Syria, being distressed to raise the tribute he was obliged by the articles of peace, after he was conquer'd, to pay to the Romans; either compell'd by his want of money, or induced by his avarice, marches his army in the night, to plunder the temple of Jupiter of Elymæa; flattering himself, that his pressing necessity would excuse his sacrilege. But the design being soon discover'd, he was cut off, with all his forces, by the people who had gathered together in arms to oppose him. Many cities of Greece had at this time sent deputies to Rome, to complain of the injuries they had received from Philip king of Macedonia; and a dispute arising in the

senate, betwixt Demetrius, Philip's son, whom his father had sent to justify himself to the senate, and the embassadors from the cities, the young man was so confounded at the number of the accusations brought against his father, that all of a sudden he became speechless. Upon this, the senators admiring his modesty, by which he had also gained universal approbation some time before, when he was an hostage at Rome, gave the cause on his side. Thus Demetrius, by his bashfulness, obtain'd a pardon for his father, and not by the justness of his apology for him. And this they particularly signified in their decree, that it might appear to the world that they had not acquitted the king, but rather excused him out of respect to his son. The success of this embassy procured no favour to Demetrius, but rather hatred and detraction. For emulation brought his brother's envy upon him; and with the father, the cause of his acquittal, so soon as he knew it, was matter of offence; for Philip was angry that greater regard should have been rendered by the senate to his son, than to his own dignity and majesty. Wherefore Perseus perceiving the source of his father's uneasiness, accused Demetrius daily to him, during his absence, of some new crime; endeavouring by this means to render him first odious, and afterwards suspected. Sometimes he reproach'd him on account of the friendship the Romans had shewn him; and sometimes he charged him with treasonable designs against his father. At last, he pretended that he had formed a design against his own life; and to prove this allegation, he sent in his informers, that is, the witnesses, whom he had suborned; and thus he, in reality, commits the crime which he falsely laid to his brother's charge. By these artifices the father being driven on to parricide, filled the whole palace with dismal lamentations.

C H A P. III. After Demetrius was slain, and his rival taken off, Perseus became not only neglectful of his duty to his father, but even contumacious towards him; nor did he behave himself as heir of the crown, but as absolute master. Philip, vexed by this behaviour, every day became more sorrowful for the loss of Demetrius,

metrius. At last he suspected that he had been imposed upon in that matter by false accusations ; and put to the rack all the informers and witnesses. Coming by this means to discover the villainy, he was mightily afflicted, no less for the perfidy of Perseus, than the death of innocent Demetrius ; and had not death prevented him, he had certainly executed vengeance : but his trouble of mind soon brought a distemper upon him, of which he died ; leaving mighty preparations for a war against the Romans, which Perseus afterwards used as his father had designed : for having drawn the Galli Scordisci into the war against the Romans, he would have given them no small trouble, had not death marred his projects. The Gauls being unsuccessful in the war against the Delphians, in which they suffered more from the gods, the avengers of sacrilege, than from the enemy, and having lost their general Brennus, part of them fled like banished men into Asia, and passed into Thrace : from hence they returned, by the same road they came, to their own country. A certain body of them staid by the way, and settling at a place where the Danube and the Save meet, order'd themselves to be called Scordisci. The Tectosagi having got back into their old country about Tolouse, were seized with a pestilential distemper, which did not cease 'till, as they were warned by the soothsayers to do, they had sunk the gold and silver, which they had got by rapine and sacrilege, in the lake of Tolouse : all which treasure, a long time after, Cepio the Roman consul carried off, amounting to a hundred thousand pound weight of silver, and fifteen hundred thousand pound weight of gold. But this sacrilege proved the ruin of Cepio and his army afterwards. The Cimbrians made war likewise upon the Romans, as it were to revenge the taking away of this sacred treasure. No small number of those Tectosagi, tempted by the sweetness of plunder, returned to Illyrium, and having pillaged the Istrians, settled in Pannonia. It is reported, that the Istrian nation derives their original from the Colchians, who were sent by king Æetas, to pursue the Argonauts, that had carried off his daughter, who, after they entered the Ister

from Pontus, going a great way up the channel of the river Save, following the steps of the Argonauts, carried their vessels on their shoulders over the mountains to the Adriatic shore; having understood that the Argonauts had done the same before, because this river was too shallow to bear a ship of such a burden as theirs was: but the Colchians not finding them here, settled near Aquileia; either for fear of the king, or being weary of so long a voyage; and were called Istri, from the name of the river up which they had sailed, after they had passed the Euxine. The Dacians likewise descended of the Getæ, who having had very bad success under their king Boerebistes, against the Bastarnians, were ordered by their king, in punishment of their cowardice, to lie in bed with their heads where they used to place their feet; and to do all those drudgeries for their wives, which they did for them formerly: nor were those customs changed, 'till they had escaped the disgrace of their former overthrow, by their valour.

CHAP. IV. Wherefore Perseus, after he had succeeded to his father in the kingdom, solicited all those nations to an alliance with him against the Romans. In the mean time, a war broke out between king Prusias, to whom Annibal had fled, after the Romans had given peace to Antiochus and Eumenes, on account of the former's breach of his treaty with the latter, through his confidence in Annibal. For Annibal, when the Romans demanded, as one of the terms of peace, that Antiochus should surrender him, being warned of it by the king, retired to Crete. There he lived, a long time, a very quiet life; but at last, finding himself envied for his vast wealth, he deposited some vessels filled with lead in Diana's temple, under pretence of trusting that goddess with his fortune. And now the inhabitants being no more troubled about him, because they thought they had his riches as a pledge for his good behaviour, he went over to Prusias, having first melted down all his gold in some statues which he carried along with him, lest his riches, if seen, should endanger his life. After that, Prusias being defeated in a battle

a battle by land, he renewed the war by sea, and got the victory by a new stratagem of Annibal's invention. He order'd a great number of pitchers to be filled with all sorts of serpents, and commanded them to be thrown, when the engagement grew hot, into the ships of the enemy, to whom it, at first, appeared ridiculous, that they who could not fight with swords, should think of fighting with earthen pots. But when the ships begun to be filled with serpents, being then in double danger, they yielded them the victory. No sooner did this news arrive at Rome, but embassadors were sent by the senate to the two kings, to oblige them to make peace, and to demand Annibal. But Annibal having intelligence of this design, taking poison, prevented the embassy by his death. This year was remarkable for the deaths of three of the greatest generals in the world; Annibal, Philopœmen, and Scipio Africanus. As for Annibal, it is certainly true of him, that all the while Italy trembled at the thunder of his arms, and after his return to Carthage, where he exercised the supreme power, he never lay down on bed when he eat, and never indulged himself beyond one pint of wine: and so great was his chastity, in the midst of so many beautiful captives, that one would scarce have taken him to have been born in so hot a climate as Afric. Besides, such was his moderation, that though he commanded armies of different nations, yet there was never any conspiracy or plot against him by his own soldiers, though the enemy had often tempted them, either to destroy, or betray him.

B O O K XXXIII.

A SUMMARY of the CHAPTERS.

- I. *The war against Perseus king of Macedonia.*
- II. *The Macedonians defeated, and put to flight. Perseus and his sons made prisoners. Macedonia made a Roman province. The Ætolians are distressed.*

C H A P. I.

THE Romans carried on the Macedonian war with less disturbance to their state, than the Carthaginian; but with so much the more glory, by how much the Macedonians exceeded the Carthaginians in reputation. For they were not only encouraged by the glory of having conquer'd the East, but supported by the auxiliary forces of all the kings. Wherefore the Romans augmented their legions in number, and also sent for assistance from Masinissa, king of the Numidians, and from all their other allies; and Eumenes, king of Bithynia, was called upon to bring them all the assistance he possibly could. Perseus had not only an army of Macedonians, that was look'd upon as invincible, but likewise provisions for a ten years war, ready laid up to his hand in his father's treasures and magazines. Elevated by this strength, over-looking the misfortunes of his father, he bid his men call to mind the ancient glory of Alexander. The first engagement was of the cavalry only, in which Perseus getting the better, drew over to his party several places that, 'till then, waver'd. But, notwithstanding this victory, he sent to the consul, to beg peace, upon the same terms the Romans had given it to his father, when conquered; offering to defray the charges of the war, as if he had been conquer'd. But the consul Sulpitius offer'd him articles no less harsh than if he had been defeated. During these transactions, the Romans, through fear of so doubtful and dangerous a war, choose Æmilius Paulus consul, and vote him the charge of the Macedonian war, out of the ordinary course. He no sooner came up with the enemy, than he gave them battle. The night before, there happened an eclipse of the moon, which was universally regarded as a bad omen for Perseus, and interpreted to presage the downfall of the Macedonian monarchy.

C H A P. II. In this battle, M. Cato, the son of Cato the orator, signalized his bravery; for while he was fighting in the thickest of the enemy, his horse threw

threw him, and he fought on foot. When he fell, the Macedonians crowded about him, thinking to dispatch him before he could recover himself; but he getting up more nimbly than they expected, made a vast slaughter. As the enemy flock'd in on all hands to him who was single, when he was aiming a blow at a certain tall fellow, his sword slipt out of his hand, and fell into the middle of the enemy's battalions: being eager to get it again, he cover'd himself with his buckler, and in the sight of both armies, broke his way through the enemy; and having regained his sword, return'd, all cover'd with wounds, to his companions; to the disgrace of the Macedonians, who only followed him with a shout. The rest, animated by his example, soon obtain the victory. Perseus arrives, by flight, with ten thousand talents, in Samothrace. Cnæus Octavius was ordered to pursue him; and took him, with his two sons, Alexander and Philip, and brought him to the consul. Macedonia had thirty kings from Caranus to Perseus; so that the regal government lasted nine hundred and twenty three years, but the empire not above a hundred and ninety two. After it came under subjection to the Romans, it was set at liberty; magistrates being appointed in every city, who were to govern by laws, which they received from Paulus, and which it yet uses. The senators of all the cities in Ætolia, with their wives and children, were sent to Rome, because their fidelity was suspected by the Romans; and there they were detain'd a long time, lest they should attempt to raise any disturbances at home; and with difficulty, after the senate was wearied with the perpetual importunities of these cities for their liberty, they were every one sent back into their own country.

B O O K XXXIV.

A SUMMARY of the CHAPTERS.

- I. *The Romans find a pretence for making war against the Achæans.*
- II. *The Achæans defeated. Corinth demolished. Ptolemy driven out. Egypt desires assistance of the Romans.*
- III. *An embassy from Rome to Antiochus; after whose death, his brother Demetrius succeeds.*
- IV. *Prusias, king of Bithynia, deprived both of his life and kingdom, by his own son.*

C H A P. I.

AFTER the Romans had subdued the Macedonians and Carthaginians, and weaken'd the Ætolians, by the detention of their leading men in captivity, the Achæans alone, of all Greece, seemed to them too powerful; not in respect of the power of any single city, but because of their union and confederacy. For Achæa, though it consisted of several cities, as so many members, yet made but one body, and one empire; and all these united their strength to repell the danger that threaten'd any one particular city. Wherefore fortune luckily presented the Romans with the complaints of the Spartans, whose lands the Achæans had ravaged, through the hatred which had long reigned between these two nations, as a pretence for war, of which they had long sought a plausible occasion. Answer was made by the senate to the Spartans, that they would send deputies into Greece, to look into the affairs and interests of their allies, and repair the injuries done them: but private instructions were given the ambassadors, to use all their efforts to break the union among the Achæan cities, and to make every city independent of itself; that by this means they might be more easily reduced to compliance; and to use force,

in case any city was contumacious ; wherefore the embassadors having summoned the chiefs of all the cities to meet at Corinth, acquainted them with the senate's order, and their commission ; and they declared that they thought it the interest of all, that each city should have its own independent rights and laws. When this was made known to all, the assembly was thrown into such a ferment, that they killed all the foreigners that were in the town, and would have laid violent hands on the Roman deputies themselves, had they not made their escape upon the first noise of this tumult.

CH A P. II. When this was known at Rome, the senate forthwith decreed war against the Achæans, and committed the management of it to Mummius the consul ; who having transported forces and all necessaries thither, with the utmost expedition, offered the enemy battle. But the Achæans, as if they had engaged in a war of very little importance, took no care to make any provision for it, and so all things were out of order amongst them. And thus their thoughts being more taken up about the booty they promised themselves, than the war, they both took along with them waggons to carry off the spoils of the enemy, and placed their wives and children upon a neighbouring hill, to see the engagement. But an onset ensuing, they were all cut to pieces in the sight of their relations, and thus gave them a dismal spectacle, and left with them a doleful remembrance of misery. Their wives and children, of spectators soon became prisoners, and a prey to the conqueror. The city Corinth itself was razed, and the inhabitants sold for slaves ; that this terrible example might deter the other cities from any new commotions. While these things were doing, Antiochus, king of Syria, makes war upon Ptolemy, his eldest sister's son, king of Egypt, a very weak prince, and so quite effeminated by luxury, that he was not only incapable of the duties of a king, but was even sunk below the level of ordinary men, through excessive debauchery and gluttony. Wherefore, being driven out of his kingdom, he flies to Alexandria, to his younger brother Ptolemy ; and having made him his

partner in the throne, they jointly sent ambassadors to Rome, to implore the assistance of the senate, and the protection of their alliance. These solicitations of the brothers prevail'd with the senate.

C H A P. III. Wherefore Popilius is sent ambassador to Antiochus, to order him not to invade Egypt; or if he had already marched into it, to leave it forthwith. Finding him in Egypt, and the king having kissed him, (for Antiochus, amongst others, had paid a particular respect to Popilius, when he was hostage at Rome) Popilius told him that he could now pay no regard to their former friendships, since the orders of his country intervened; and producing the senate's decree, he delivered it into his hands; and when he found him demur upon the matter, and demand time to consult his friends, Popilius took a rod which he had in his hand, and describing a circle with it, large enough to contain him and his friends, he bid him consider there, and not go out of that circle, 'till he gave the senate an answer, whether he would have peace or war with the Romans. This bluntness so daunted the king, that he answered forthwith, that he would obey the senate. Antiochus being returned into his kingdom, dies, leaving behind him a very young son, to whom guardians being assigned by the people, his uncle Demetrius, who was a hostage at Rome, having heard of his brother's death, went to the senate, and declared, that he came as a hostage while his brother was alive; but that he being now dead, he did not know what hostage he was; and therefore it was reasonable that he should be dismissed, that he might claim the kingdom, which as by the law of nations he had yielded up to his elder brother, so it now ought of right to devolve upon him who was so much older than the minor his nephew. When he found that the senate would not let him go because they thought the kingdom safer in the hands of the orphan than his, he went out of town, under pretence of hunting, and goes privately on board a ship at Ciss, with a small retinue of a few friends. Arriving in Syria, he was most favourably received by people of all ranks; and the orphan being murdered, the kingdom is deliver'd to him by the guardians. C H A P

CHAP. IV. Much about the same time, Prusias king of Bithynia, enter'd into a resolution to kill his son Nicomedes, in order to leave his kingdom to his younger sons, whom he had by a second marriage, and who were then at Rome. But the persons who were employ'd in this plot, not only discovered the whole affair to the young man, but encouraged him, since his father had formed so cruel a design against him, to be before-hand with him, and turn the villainy upon the first contriver. Neither was it a difficult matter to persuade him. Wherefore, after his arrival, upon being sent for, he was immediately proclaimed king. Prusias being dethroned by his son, and become a private man, found himself forsaken, even by his servants. When he lived in concealment, he was killed by his son, who, by this base action, shewed himself no less wicked than the father had done, by ordering him to be murder'd.

B O O K XXXV.

A SUMMARY of the CHAPTERS.

- I. *Demetrius defeated by his enemy, and slain in battle.*
- II. *Alexander, who vanquish'd him, kill'd by his son.*

CHAP. I.

Demetrius having possess'd himself of the kingdom of Syria, imagining that peace would be dangerous to him in the beginning of his reign, resolved to make war upon his neighbours, to encrease the power, and enlarge the limits of his kingdom. Wherefore, being provoked against Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, for despising a match with his sister, he received his brother Orofernes, who was unjustly dispossessed of his kingdom, upon his application to him; and being overjoyed to have so plausible a pretence to take up arms, resolved to restore him to his throne. But Orofernes most ungratefully made a league with the people of Antioch.

tioch, who were at that time incensed against Demetrius, and entered into a design of turning him out of his own kingdom, who had endeavoured to restore him. When Demetrius discovered this, he spared indeed his life, that Ariarathes might not be freed from the fear of a brother, who was always ready to give him disturbance, but ordered him to be apprehended, and kept in close custody, at Seleucia. Nor did the Antiochians, after this discovery, persist less obstinately in their revolt. Wherefore, both Ptolemy king of Egypt, Attalus king of Asia, and Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, joining to help them, being attack'd by Demetrius, they set up one Balas, a young fellow of mean extraction, to lay claim to the kingdom of Syria, as his father's, by force of arms: and that nothing might be wanting to compleat the affront, they gave him the name of Alexander, pretending that he was the son of Antiochus. So universal was the hatred Demetrius had incurred, that this pretender, by general consent, was complimented not only with a crown, but with a noble lineage. So that Alexander, - in this wonderful change of his fortune, forgetting his mean birth, and supported by the forces of almost all the East, made head against Demetrius, and defeating him, stript him at once of his kingdom and his life. Tho' Demetrius did not want bravery in defending himself; for he both routed the enemy in the first engagement, and when the king renewed the war, he killed several thousands upon the spot: yet, at last, in spite of his courage, he fell fighting valiantly amidst the thickest of the enemy.

C H A P. II. In the beginning of this war, Demetrius had entrusted two of his sons, together with a great quantity of gold, to an old friend of his, a Gnidian; to secure them against the dangers of the war and that they might be saved to revenge his father's death, in case he should fall. Demetrius, the elder of the two, had no sooner passed the years of minority than hearing of Alexander's luxurious life, with the assistance of some Cretans, he falls upon him unawares while he apprehended no danger, and gave himself up to supine idleness in his palace, amidst troops of concubines.

bines, quite bewitched and led captive by his unexpected grandeur, and the fascination of a prosperity, to which he was a stranger. The people of Antioch too, to make attonement for their injuries to the father, by new good offices to the son, surrender themselves to him: and the soldiers who had bore arms under his father, fired with the love of this young man, preferring the obligations of their former oath, to the service of this proud new king, went over to Demetrius. And thus Alexander being destroyed by an impetuosity of fortune, equal to that which raised him, was overcome and slain in the first battle; and made satisfaction both to the manes of Demetrius, whom he had slain, and of Antiochus, from whom he falsely pretended to have descended.

B O O K XXXVI.

A SUMMARY of the CHAPTERS.

- I. *Demetrius unsuccessful in his wars. Commotions in Syria, where Trypho is defeated by Antiochus the Brother of Demetrius. Antiochus overcomes the Jews.*
- II. *An account of the original, progress, and exploits of the Jews.*
- III. *The riches of Judæa. The wonders of the dead sea. By what king the Jews were overcome.*
- IV. *The crimes of Attalus, king of Asia. His death and last will. The Romans become absolute masters of Asia. Are corrupted by the wealth and luxury of that country.*

C H A P. I.

Demetrius had no sooner recovered his father's kingdom, than, being corrupted by his prosperity, and misled by the passions of youth, he fell into profound sloth and laziness; and rendered himself as despicable by his indolence, as his father had made himself hateful

hateful by his pride. Wherefore when many cities had revolted from his government, he awaked, and resolved to wipe off the contempt his effeminacy had brought upon him, by making war upon the Parthians. This expedition was not disagreeable to the people of the East, both because of the cruelty of Ariaces, king of Parthia; and because having been accustomed to the old government of the Macedonians, they could not endure the arrogance of this upstart people. So being assisted with auxiliaries from the Persians, Elymeans, and Bactrians, he routed the Parthians in several pitched battles. However, at last, over-reach'd by plausible pretences of peace, he is taken prisoner, and led from city to city, by his enemies, as a spectacle to the people that had revolted, to upbraid them for favouring him. Then being sent into Hyrcania, he is treated kindly, and suitably to the grandeur of his former fortune. During these transactions, Trypho, who had used all his interest to get himself made guardian by the people, to Antiochus, step-son to Demetrius, killed his pupil, and possessed himself of the kingdom of Syria; which having enjoyed for some time, at last the fondness of the people for a new master, wearing off, he was conquer'd by Antiochus, brother to Demetrius, who had been educated in Asia. And thus the kingdom of Syria again returned to the family of Demetrius. But Antiochus remembering both that his father was hated for his haughtiness, and his brother condemned for his inactivity, that he might not fall into the same faults, taking Cleopatra, his brother's wife, in marriage, he carried on the war with the utmost vigour against the cities that had rebeli'd, thro' the remissness of his brother's government; and having subdued them again, united them to his dominions. He likewise subdued the Jews, who, during the government of his father Demetrius, had recovered their liberty by force of arms. Such was the strength of this people, that they would not submit to any king of the Macedonians, after him, but elected chiefs of their own nation, under whose conduct they maintained bloody wars against the Syrians.

CHAP. II. For the Jews were originally from Damascus, a most famous city of Syria, from whence likewise the Assyrian kings had their descent by queen Semiramis. This city took its name from a king called Damascus, in honour of whom the Syrians had consecrated the sepulchre of his wife Arathis, as a temple; appointing a particular worship for her among the goddesses. After Damascus reigned Azelus, who was succeeded by Adores, from whom the government passed to Abraham, and from him to Israel. This last was more famous than his ancestors, by means of ten sons descended from him. And accordingly he divided the kingdom among them, and called them all Jews, from the name of Judas, who died after the division, and ordered his memory to be held in veneration by them all, since his portion was shared amongst them. Joseph was the youngest of these brethren, whom the rest of the brothers envied, on account of his extraordinary parts, and therefore sold him to some foreign merchants, having privately kidnapp'd him for that purpose: these merchants carried him into Egypt, where, by the uncommon strength of his genius, having learnt the magical arts, he soon wrought himself into high favour with the king; for he was exceedingly well skill'd in prodigies, and was the first that professed the science of interpreting dreams: and, indeed, nothing relating to divine or human things escaped his knowledge; inso-much, that he foretold a barrenness several years before it happen'd; and all Egypt had perished by famine, unless, by his advice, the king of Egypt had ordered, by an edict, the corn to be laid up for several years. So many were the instances of his skill, that his answers seemed to come from a god, and not from a mortal. Moses was his son, who, besides the knowledge he seemed to inherit from his father, recommended himself to the people by the comeliness of his person. But the Israelites being troubled with the itch and leprosy, the Egyptians, in pursuance of the advice of some oracle, drove him, with the other distemper'd people, out of Egypt; lest the disease should spread amongst the Egyptians. Wherefore Moses becoming the leader
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of these exiles, carried off by stealth the sacred utensils of the Egyptians, which they endeavouring to recover by force of arms, were obliged, by tempests, to return from the pursuit. Moses therefore having regained Damascus, the ancient seat of his forefathers, possessed himself of mount Sinai; where, being harrassed with his people by seven days fasting in the desarts of Arabia, he consecrated the seventh day to be a fast forever, and called it, agreeably to the customs of this people, the sabbath, because that day put a period both to their fasting and wandering; and because they considered that they had been turned out of Egypt by force, for fear of their spreading the infection, that they might not be odious on the same account to the inhabitants of the country, in which they had now set down, they took care to have no commerce with strangers: and what originally was the effect of this particular policy, was, by degrees, turned into a maxim of their religion and discipline. After Moses too, his son Arvas was made a priest, to celebrate the superstitious rites they had learned from the Egyptians, and soon after was created king; and for ever after it was the custom amongst the Jews, to unite the priesthood with the regal dignity; and by joining religion with justice, it is incredible how powerful a people they became.

C H A P. III. The wealth of the nation encreased greatly, by the duties on balm, which grows in no other country but this. For there is a valley, which is enclosed with a continued ridge of hills, as it were with a wall, in the form of a camp. This space of ground, containing about two hundred acres, is called Hierichus. In this valley there is a wood remarkable, both for its plenty and pleasantness; for it is divided by plantations of palm and balm. The latter trees resemble pitch-trees in shape, only they are not so tall; and they are cultivated like vines. These, at a certain time of the year, distil balm like sweat. But this place is no less to be admired, on account of its fine exposition to a moderate sun, than its fertility. For though in this country the heat of the sun be most immoderate, yet the air is here continually cool and refreshing. In this country

country is the lake Asphaltites, which is called the Dead Sea, because of its largeness, and the stagnation of its waters: for neither is it stirred by the winds, by reason of the pitchy matter it is clogg'd with; nor does it admit of navigation, because all inanimate things sink to the bottom: nor does it bear up any wood, but what is smeared with allum. Xerxes, king of the Persians, first conquered the Jews. Afterwards, with the Persians, they came under the dominion of Alexander the Great, and were long subject to the kingdom of Syria, under the power of the Macedonian empire. When they revolted from Demetrius, they were the first people of the East that recovered their liberty, by having recourse to the friendship of the Romans, who bestowed not unwillingly, what was none of their own.

CHAP. IV. During the time that the Syrians were often changing masters, who dethroned one another, in Asia king Attalus contaminated a most flourishing kingdom, left him by his uncle Eumenes, with the murders of his friends, and the punishments of his relations, whom he falsely charged sometimes with the death of his old mother, and sometimes with that of his wife Berenice. After this mad fit of violence, he became a nasty sloven, suffering his beard and hair to grow, after the manner of criminals; never went abroad, nor appeared in public, nor kept any feasts in his palace, or, indeed, gave any sign of a man in his senses; so that he seemed to be paying penance, to appease the ghosts of those he had murdered. Then abandoning the administration of the government, he digged gardens and sowed plants; and mixing poisonous juices with innocent ones, sent them as a rare present to his friends. From a gardener he turned a worker in metals, and took delight in stamping and casting of brass; and also in making images of wax. Then he took a resolution to make a monument for his mother; but while he was busy about it, he contracted a distemper from the heat of the sun, and died on the seventh day of his illness. By his will, he made the people of Rome his heir; but Aristonicus, a natural son of Eumenes, whom he had by an Ephesian concubine, the daughter

daughter of a certain harper, after the death of Attalus, possessed himself of Asia, under pretence that it was his father's kingdom. After he had fought several successful battles against the cities, which, for fear of the Romans, would not surrender themselves to him, Asia was given by the senate to the consul Licinius Crassus; who being more set upon the plunder of Attalus, than the war, fighting a battle in the latter end of the year, with his army in disorder, and being defeated, he suffered the punishment due to his blind avarice, by the loss of his life. Perpenna the consul being sent in his room, disabled and took Aristonicus in the first engagement; and putting the treasures aboard which Attalus had bequeathed to the Roman people, carried them by sea to Rome; which his successor Manius Aquilius taking ill, made all possible haste to ravish Aristonicus out of Perpenna's hands, as if he ought rather to be the ornament of his own triumph. But the death of Perpenna put an end to this dispute betwixt the consuls. Thus Asia becoming a province to the Roman empire, with its riches translated also its vices to Rome.

B O O K XXXVII.

A SUMMARY of the CHAPTERS.

- I. *The gratitude of those of Massilia towards the Phœceans, The tragical events in Cappadocia and Pontus.*
- II. *Presages that predicted the future greatness of Mithridates.*
- III. *His exploits. He had like to have been poison'd by his wife.*
- IV. *His aversion to idleness. His military exercises. He seizes Cappadocia and Galatia. His haughty answer to the Romans.*

C H A P. I.

AFTER Aristonicus was taken, the Massilians sent ambassadors to Rome, to intercede for their founders the Phœceans, whose city, and very name, the Roman

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man senate had ordered to be erased out of the world; because both then, and before, in the war of Antiochus, they had bore arms against the Romans; and they obtained a pardon for them from the senate. After this, rewards were given to the kings who had assisted against Aristonicus. To Mithridates of Pontus was given the greater Phrygia; Lycaonia and Cilicia to the sons of Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, who had been slain in the same war. And thus the Roman people were kinder to the sons of their ally, than the mother was to her children; for she deprived these princes of their life; whereas the senate gave them new dominions. For Laodice, of six sons whom she had by Ariarathes, fearing to be turned out of the administration, so soon as any of them came to the years of manhood, killed five of them by a parricidal potion: one little child, by the care of his relations, escaped his mother's cruelty; and after his mother's death, (for the people had killed her for her barbarity) he enjoy'd the kingdom alone. Mithridates too dying suddenly, left a son, called also Mithridates; who became afterwards so great, that he surpassed all the kings, not only of his own time, but of preceding ages, in majesty; and carried on wars with the Romans for forty six years, with various success. Tho' the great generals Sylla, Lucullus, and others, and, in fine, Cneus Pompeius conquered him, yet he always rose again more glorious and powerful, and his defeats only served to render him more formidable. At last, he died, not by hostile violence, but by a voluntary death, in the kingdom of his ancestors, being full of years, and left his son his heir.

CH A P. II. Strange prodigies in the heavens had foretold his future greatness. For the year in which he was born, as well as that in which he began to reign, a comet blazed with such splendour for seventeen days together, that all the heavens seemed to be in a conflagration; for it filled a fourth part of the heavens with its train, and, by its refulgence, obscured the light of the sun; and whether in rising or setting, it always took up the space of four hours. When a boy, he was attack'd by the plots of his guardians, who mounting
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him on a wild horse, made him throw the lance riding at full speed. But finding he managed the horse much better than they could have imagined, they tried to poison him; which he being aware of, frequently made use of antidotes, and so fortified himself against their attempts, by his excellent preservatives, that when old, poison which he took voluntarily, would not operate upon him. Fearing afterwards that his enemies might execute by the sword what they could not do by poison, he pretended a great fancy for hunting, and for seven years together, never came under the roof of any house, in city or country; but rambling through the woods, passed the nights in different parts of the mountains. He employ'd himself in chasing wild beasts, or putting them to flight; and sometimes he would try his strength with some of them, all people being ignorant where he was. By this means he avoided the plots laid for him, and harden'd his body for undergoing all manner of fatigue and hardship.

C H A P. III. Afterwards, when he came to the administration of his kingdom, he immediately turned his thoughts, not so much towards governing, as enlarging his dominions. And accordingly he subdued, with extraordinary success, the Scythians, who had heretofore been invincible, and who had cut off Zopyrion, the general of Alexander the Great, with thirty thousand armed men; and who had slain Cyrus king of the Persians, with two hundred thousand; and routed Philip, king of the Macedonians. Wherefore having considerably encreased his forces by this victory, he made himself master of Pontus, and afterwards of Cappadocia. Having his thoughts upon the conquest of Asia, he stole privately out of his kingdom, and with a few companions, travell'd over it *incognito*, observing the country as he passed along, and the situations of places. After this, he passed over Bithynia; and as if he had been master of Asia, he searched all the places that were properest to give him an advantage over his enemies. After that, he returned into his own kingdom, where they thought him lost, and found a young prince at home, of whom his wife Laodice, who was
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also his sister, had been delivered in his absence. But amidst the congratulations he received upon his arrival, and the birth of his son, he was in danger of being poisoned. For Laodice, believing him dead, had prostituted herself to the embraces of his friends; and as if the best way to conceal her wickedness was to commit a greater villainy, she prepared poison for his welcome. But Mithridates being apprized of this treacherous design, by one of her maids, revenged himself by the death of those who had contrived his.

CH A P. IV. Upon the approach of winter, he did not spend his time in feasts, but in the field; not in idleness, but in exercises: nor did he contend with his companions, but with such as were his match, either for riding, running, or wrestling. He likewise harden'd his army by perpetual exercises, to bear all fatigues whatsoever; and being invincible himself, had thus rendered his army also invincible. Then entering into an alliance with Nicomedes, he invades Paphlagonia, and conquering it, divided it with his allies. The senate no sooner learn'd that it was in the possession of the two kings, than they sent ambassadors to both, commanding them to restore that country to its former condition. Mithridates looking upon himself as now a match for the Romans, replied haughtily, that his father had inherited this kingdom, and he wondered they should dispute his right, since they had never call'd in question his father's. And not disturbed by their threats, he likewise seizes Galatia. Nicomedes, because he had no right to what he possessed, made answer, that he would immediately restore it to its lawful owner: and changing his son's name to Pylæmenes, the usual name of the kings of Paphlagonia, detained it under this frivolous pretence, as if he had actually restored it to one of the royal family. The ambassadors finding themselves banter'd in this manner, returned to Rome.

B O O K XXXVIII.

A SUMMARY of the CHAPTERS.

- I. *Mithridates stains his new reign by his cruelty and treachery. Murders Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia.*
- II. *The senate pacifies the tragical disputes between Mithridates and Nicomedes.*
- III. *Mithridates makes an alliance with Tigranes, defeats the Roman proconsuls, and is joyfully received by all the cities of Asia.*
- IV, V, VI, VII. *The harangue of Mithridates, in which he acquaints his soldiers with the reasons why he declared war against the Romans.*
- VIII. *Ptolemy, surnamed Pbycon, turned out of Egypt by his subjects.*
- IX. *The adventures of Demetrius king of Syria.*
- X. *Antiochus, father to Demetrius, attacks the Parthians, and being deserted by his men, loses his life.*

C H A P. I.

Mithridates having begun his parricides by killing his mother, designed to treat the sons of Laodice in the same manner, whose husband Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, he got Gordius treacherously to assassinate; thinking he had gained nothing by his father's death, if these young men should seize their father's kingdom, which he so eagerly burnt to possess. Whilst these schemes employ'd his mind, Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, possessed himself of Cappadocia, void of a master, by the death of the king; which being told Mithridates, he, under a pretence of affection for his relations, sends assistance to his sister, to drive Nicomedes out of Cappadocia. But now Laodice had promised to marry Nicomedes; and Mithridates, provoked at this, drove the garrisons of Nicomedes out of Cappadocia, and restores the kingdom to his sister's son.

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An excellent action indeed, had it not been stained by after-treachery. For some months after, he pretended he had a mind to recall Gordius, whom he had employ'd as his tool, to take off Ariarathes; hoping, if the young man opposed it, he should have a pretext for war, or if he suffer'd it, that the son might be removed out of his way by the same person who had freed him of his father. When Ariarathes was informed of this design, taking it heinously that his father's murderer should be recalled from banishment, especially by his uncle, he raised a great army. Wherefore when Mithridates had brought into the field fourscore thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and six hundred chariots, armed with scythes; and Ariarathes, by the assistance of the neighbouring kings, brought no less an army with him; fearing the uncertainty of war, he turn'd his thoughts towards a plot, and having invited the young man to a conference, carrying a sword hid in the folds of his garment, about his thighs, he said to the searcher, who, according to the custom observed in the interviews of kings, was sent to search him, when he was feeling at the bottom of his belly very curiously, he ought to take care, lest he should find another sort of weapon than he looked for. And covering his treachery by this jest, when he had called his nephew aside from his friends, to a private conference, he killed him in the sight of both armies, and invested his own son, who was but eight years old, with the kingdom of Cappadocia; giving him the name of Ariarathes, and appointing Gordius his guardian.

CHAP. II. But the Cappadocians being miserably harassed by the cruelty and insatiable lusts of their governors, revolt from Mithridates, and sent for the brother of their king, whose name was likewise Ariarathes, from Asia, where he had been educated; with whom Mithridates renewed the war; and having success, drove him out of Cappadocia. This young man, not long after, died of a distemper brought upon him by his grief of mind. After his death, Nicomedes, fearing that Mithridates, who now had Cappadocia added to his dominions, should attempt to join Bithynia

also to them, which lay so near, he set up a boy of extraordinary handsomeness, for a third son of Ariarathes who, in reality, had only two sons, to beg the kingdom of the senate of Rome, as his father's. He likewise sends his wife Laodice to Rome, to testify that she had born three children to Ariarathes. Mithridates so soon as he heard of this contrivance, sent, with the same impudence, Gordius to Rome, to assure the senate, that the boy to whom he had delivered the kingdom of Cappadocia, was son to the same Ariarathes who fell, in the service of the Roman state, in the war against Aristonicus. But the senate perceiving the ambitious designs of the two kings, and that they only sought to invade the dominions of others, under false pretences, took away Cappadocia from Mithridates and that he might digest his loss the more easily, at the same time, took away Paphlagonia from Nicomedes. And that it might not be thought an affront upon the kings, that any thing should be taken from them, to be given to others, both people were presented with an offer of their liberty. But the Cappadocians refused this favour, protesting that they could not live without a king. And accordingly, Ariobarzanes was made their king, by order of the senate.

CHAP. III. Tigranes was, at that time, king of Armenia: he had long before been given as a hostage to the Parthians, but was some time ago sent home by them to his father's kingdom. Mithridates was very solicitous to draw him into an alliance for the war with the Romans, which he had long designed; wherefore by the means of Gordius, he prevails with him, little thinking of giving thereby any offence to the Romans to make war upon Ariobarzanes, a very inactive prince and that there might not appear to be any fraudulent intention at the bottom, he gives him his daughter Cleopatra in marriage. At the first approach of Tigranes Ariobarzanes pack'd up his effects, and went for Rome. And thus, by the means of Tigranes, Cappadocia once more came into the possession of Mithridates. At the same time died Nicomedes, whose son, of the same name, was driven out of his kingdom by Mithridates.

and went as a suppliant to Rome, where it was determined, that both of them should be re-instated in their kingdoms. For which purpose, Aquilius and Manlius Maltinus were sent in the character of ambassadors. Upon information of this, Mithridates enters into a treaty with Tigranes, in order to carry on the war against the Romans. And they agreed betwixt themselves, that the cities, and all the lands, which should happen to be taken from the enemy, should be Mithridates's share; and that the prisoners, and all the booty, should go to Tigranes. After this, Mithridates understanding what a war he had brought upon his hands, sent ambassadors to demand assistance from the Cimmerians, the Gallogræcians, Sarmatians, and Bactrians. For, designing war against the Romans, he had already gained over all those nations to him, by various good offices. He orders likewise an army to come from Scythia, and raised the whole eastern world against the Romans. Wherefore, without much trouble, he defeats Aquilius and Maltinus, whose army was wholly composed of Asiatic troops; and having routed them, and, together with them, Nicomedes, he was every where received with vast joy. He found there a great quantity of gold and silver, and store of warlike provisions, laid up by the precaution of former kings. Being thus provided, he remits the cities all sorts of debts, public and private; and grants an exemption to them from war for five years. Then he assembles his soldiers, and animates them, by various motives, to the war with the Romans in Asia. This speech I have thought fit to insert into this compend, which Trogus Pompeius has delivered in the oblique manner; for he had found fault with Livy and Sallust, for violating the laws of history, by inserting in their works direct orations, only to display their own eloquence.

CHAP. IV. He said, " He could heartily wish, " that it were still in his power to deliberate whether " he ought to have war or peace with the Romans; " but that violence ought to be resisted, even those " who had no hopes of victory never doubted: for all " men have recourse to their arms against robbers, if

“ they should not be able to save their lives, to revenge
 “ at least their death. But since it was now the que-
 “ stion, whether they might sit still in quiet, the ene-
 “ my having attack’d them, not merely in intention
 “ but with actual hostilities; nothing remained but to
 “ consider with what hopes, and in what manner
 “ they ought to carry on the war in which they were
 “ embarked. That for his own part, he did no
 “ doubt of victory, if they were not wanting in cou-
 “ rage; and that both he and they well knew, that
 “ the Romans were not invincible, since they had
 “ routed Aquilius in Bithynia, and Maktinus in Cappa-
 “ docia. And if foreign examples weighed more with
 “ them than their own experience, he had heard that
 “ the Romans had been defeated by Pyrrhus, king of
 “ Epire, in three pitch’d battles, though he was back’d
 “ by no more than five thousand Macedonians; that
 “ Annibal continued to be victorious in Italy for sixteen
 “ years; and that it was not by the strength of his
 “ enemy, but by factions in Carthage, that he was
 “ hindered from taking Rome. He had heard that
 “ the Gauls inhabiting on the other side the Alps, had
 “ formerly invaded Italy, and still kept possession of
 “ several great cities there; nay, enjoy’d a larger ter-
 “ ritory there than they had in Asia, which was reckon’d
 “ not at all warlike: That they had not only con-
 “ quered, but taken Rome, so that the inhabitants had
 “ nothing left them, but one hill; and that the enemy
 “ was not dislodged by the bravery of their arms, but
 “ by money: That those very Gauls, whose name had
 “ always been so terrible to the Romans, made part
 “ of his strength. For the Gauls that inhabit Asia dif-
 “ fered only in their place of habitation, from those of
 “ Italy; their extraction, courage, and manner of
 “ fighting, being the same: or if there was any diffe-
 “ rence, the former must have had so much the more
 “ sagacity than the other, that they had ventured a
 “ longer and more laborious march through Illyrium
 “ and Thrace, to fix in Asia; and had passed through
 “ more difficulties to arrive than to establish themselves
 “ there, when once they had got footing in it: That

“ as he had been informed, Italy had never enjoyed a
 “ perfect tranquility since the foundation of Rome, but
 “ that every year there were some terrible commotions ;
 “ some contending for their liberty, and some for em-
 “ pire ; and thus there was war incessantly : and that
 “ the entire armies of the Romans had been cut off by
 “ several states in Italy ; nay, that some had forced
 “ them to pass under the yoke ; a punishment as new
 “ as it was infamous. And not to insist longer upon
 “ ancient examples, at this very time all Italy was now
 “ in arms against them in the Marfic war, not to de-
 “ mand their liberty, as before, but a share in the
 “ freedom and government of the city. Nor was the
 “ city more endanger’d by the arms of its neighbours,
 “ than by intestine broils among the leading men ;
 “ and that the civil war, which at that juncture tore the
 “ state to pieces, was likely to prove more fatal to her
 “ than that which the Italians made against her. At
 “ the same time too, the Cimbrians, a barbarous sa-
 “ vage people, coming in numerous swarms from Ger-
 “ many, had over-run Italy like a tempest ; so that
 “ though the Romans might be able to stand it out a-
 “ gainst any of these enemies separately, yet they must
 “ necessarily sink under the weight of so many ; at
 “ least they could not have leisure to engage in war
 “ with him.

CHAP. V. “ That it was the best way there-
 “ fore to make use of the present opportunity, and en-
 “ crease their forces, lest if they were listless while the
 “ enemy had his hands fully employ’d, they should find
 “ it a harder task to deal with him when he was dis-
 “ engaged from other concerns. The question now
 “ was not, whether they must take up arms or no, but
 “ whether they must do it at a time favourable to
 “ them, or to their enemy. For they had actually be-
 “ gun the war with him, when they took away from
 “ him, in his minority, the Greater Phrygia, which
 “ he possessed by a double title ; they themselves hav-
 “ ing given it to his father, as a recompence for the
 “ succours he had furnished them in their war against
 “ Aristonicus ; and Seleucus Callinicus having given it

“ to his great grandfather Mithridates, by way of
 “ dowry with his daughter. And did they not begin
 “ another war against them, when they commanded
 “ him to quit Paphlagonia, which came not to his fa-
 “ ther by violence or arms, but in a legal manner, by
 “ the adoption of a last-will ; and after the death of the
 “ last lawful prince that possessed it ? And that not-
 “ withstanding the severity of their decrees, he had
 “ been very compliant, yet this did not soften them,
 “ but rather inflamed them more and more every day :
 “ For what sort of compliance had he not made to
 “ them ? Had he not parted with Phrygia and Paphla-
 “ gonia ? Had he not removed his son out of Cappa-
 “ docia, which he might have possessed, as a conque-
 “ ror, by the law of nations ? Had he not slain Chre-
 “ stos king of Bithynia, because the senate had declared
 “ him an enemy to the Roman people ? And yet, if
 “ Gordius or Tigranes committed any disorder, it must
 “ be immediately imputed to him : That purely to af-
 “ front him, the senate had given liberty to the Cap-
 “ padocians, when at the same time they robbed other
 “ nations of it. And that afterwards, when instead of
 “ this proffered liberty, these very people petitioned
 “ that Gordius might be their king, they had not pre-
 “ vailed, merely because he was his friend. That Ni-
 “ comedes, by their order, had made war upon him ;
 “ and because he endeavoured to right himself, he was
 “ opposed by them ; and that he was now attack’d by
 “ them, on no other account, but because he would
 “ not suffer Nicomedes, the son of an actress, to ra-
 “ vage his dominions with impunity.

C H A P. VI. “ That it was not the crimes of
 “ kings, but their power and majesty, that they dis-
 “ liked ; and that he was not the only prince whom
 “ they had used in this manner, but that they had
 “ treated all others, at all times, in the same way.
 “ They had thus (for instance) served his grandfather
 “ Pharnaces, who, by that prince’s relations, had been
 “ named successor to Eumenes, king of Pergamus ;
 “ that even Eumenes himself, whose fleet had first
 “ transported them into Asia, and by whose army,

“ rather

“ rather than their own, they had subdued both Anti-
 “ ochus the Great, and the Gauls in Asia, and soon
 “ after, king Perseus in Macedonia, was himself treated
 “ as an enemy, and forbid coming into Italy; and
 “ when they could not for shame make war against
 “ himself, they attack’d his son Aristonicus. No man’s
 “ merits were held greater amongst them than Massi-
 “ nissa’s, king of the Numidians; to him was the con-
 “ quest of Annibal ascribed, and the taking of Syphax,
 “ and the ruin of Carthage; that they placed him be-
 “ tween the two Scipio’s, as the third preserver of their
 “ city: yet a war had been carried on with his grand-
 “ son lately in Africa, so implacably, that they would
 “ not save the poor conquered prince, in regard to the
 “ memory of his grandfather; but he must undergo
 “ the disgrace of being cast into jail, and of being
 “ led as a public spectacle in triumph. That they had
 “ made it a law to themselves, to hate all kings, be-
 “ cause they had had kings, at the names of whom
 “ they might well blush; for either they were shep-
 “ herds, descended from a people of uncertain extrac-
 “ tion; or soothsayers among the Sabines; or exiles
 “ from the Corinthians; or slaves of the Tuscans; or,
 “ what was the most honourable name among them,
 “ proud: and as they give out, that their founder was
 “ suckled by a wolf, so they had indeed the temper of
 “ wolves, being insatiably blood-thirsty, and avari-
 “ tious.

CHAP. VII. “ But he, if he was compared
 “ with them, in respect of noble birth, was more il-
 “ lustrious than that dreg of a mob; being descended,
 “ on his father’s side, from Cyrus and Darius, the
 “ founders of the Persian kingdom; and on the mo-
 “ ther’s, from Alexander the Great, and Nicator Se-
 “ leucus, the establishers of the Macedonian empire:
 “ Or if that people were compared with his own, they
 “ were not only a match for the Roman empire, but
 “ had likewise withstood the whole power of the Ma-
 “ cedonians: That none of the nations subject to him
 “ had ever been under a foreign yoke, or had obeyed
 “ any kings but those of their own country: That if

“ they cast their eyes upon Cappadocia, Paphlagonia,
 “ or Pontus, or Bithynia, or Armenia the Greater and
 “ Lesser, they would find, that neither Alexander,
 “ who had conquered all Asia, nor any of his posterity,
 “ or successors, had ever touched any of these nations.
 “ That before him, two kings had indeed dared to
 “ enter into Scythia, Darius and Philip; but far from
 “ conquering it, they had with difficulty been able to
 “ make their retreat from thence; and out of this
 “ very country he had levied a considerable part of his
 “ forces, to go against the Romans: That he had un-
 “ dertaken the Pontic war with much more diffidence
 “ and fear, when he himself was but a raw and igno-
 “ rant soldier. That the Scythians, besides their arms
 “ and their natural courage, were secured by their vast
 “ cold deserts, which rendered making war there very
 “ hazardous and difficult: And that for these hard-
 “ ships, there were no hopes of any reward from a
 “ wandering enemy, not only unprovided with money,
 “ but without habitations. Now he was entering up-
 “ on a very different sort of war: for neither was there
 “ a more temperate climate than that of Asia, nor a
 “ more fertile soil, nor a more pleasant country, for the
 “ multitude of its cities; so that they would spend a
 “ great part of their time there, not as in war, but as
 “ at a festival; in a war which it was hard to say
 “ whether it was more easy, or more gainful, as they
 “ could not doubt, if they had ever heard either of the
 “ late riches of Attalus’s kingdom, or of the ancient
 “ opulence of Lydia and Ionia, which they were not
 “ going to acquire by conquest, but to take possession
 “ of: and Asia did so fondly expect him, that they even
 “ in plain terms invited him; such hatred had the ra-
 “ pacious avarice of their præconsuls, the extortions of
 “ their publicans, and the chicanery of their judges,
 “ drawn upon the Romans in these parts. Let them
 “ but follow him with bravery, and consider what great
 “ things such an army might do under his conduct, as
 “ their general; whom they had seen seize Cappado-
 “ cia, killing the king of that country by his own pro-
 “ per strength, without the help of any one of his sol-
 “ diers;

“ diers; under him who was the only person that had
 “ conquered Pontus and Scythia, none before him hav-
 “ ing been able to set a foot, or pass there with safety.
 “ For he did not decline the soldiers themselves as wit-
 “ nesses of his justice and generosity, since they had ex-
 “ perience of them on many occasions: and he had those
 “ proofs to bring of both, that he alone, of all kings,
 “ possessed not only his father’s kingdoms, but likewise
 “ foreign dominions; as the Colchi, Paphlagonia, and
 “ the Bosphorus, by right of inheritance, owing to his
 “ generosity.”

CHAP. VIII. The soldiers being animated by
 this harangue, Mithridates proceeded to the war against
 the Romans, three and twenty years after his accession
 to the kingdom. But in Egypt, king Ptolemy being
 dead, the kingdom is offered, with the queen Cleo-
 patra his sister in marriage, by ambassadors, to that
 Ptolemy who reigned at Cyrene. Ptolemy was not a
 little transported to have received his father’s kingdom
 without any dispute; the more, that he knew it was
 designed for his brother’s son, both by Cleopatra his
 mother, and the grandees. But being incensed against
 all these favourers of the boy, so soon as he entered
 Alexandria, he ordered them all to be slain. He like-
 wise killed him, the very day on which he received his
 mother in marriage, in the embraces of his mother,
 and amidst the preparations for a festival, and the so-
 lemn religious ceremonies. And thus he went to his
 sister’s bed, reeking with the blood of her son. After
 that, he was no milder to his subjects who had invited
 him into the kingdom; for he gave the foreign soldiers
 a license to murder: so that all places run with blood.
 He also divorces his sister, and married her daughter,
 whom he had before violently deflowered. The people,
 terrified by these proceedings, fled into different coun-
 tries, and quit their native soil as exiles, for fear of
 death. Wherefore Ptolemy being left alone with his
 soldiers in so great a city, finding himself a king, not
 of men, but of empty houses, issued proclamations to
 invite foreigners thither. As multitudes flock’d to fill
 his city, he went to meet the Roman ambassadors, Sci-

pio Africanus, Spurius Mummius, and Lucius Metellus, who came to visit the kingdoms of the allies. But he appear'd as ridiculous to the Romans, as he was terrible to his own subjects; for his visage was deform'd, his stature short, and his belly so protuberant, that he resembled a beast more than a man. His natural deformity was not a little encreased by the foppish transparency of his dress, which looked as if he had affected to discover what a man of ordinary modesty would be at all proper care to conceal. Then, after the departure of the ambassadors, among whom Scipio Africanus drew the eyes of the Alexandrians, whilst he viewed their town, being now hated by the foreigners that had come in, for fear of conspiracies against his life, he went privately into banishment, with a son, whom he had by his sister and his wife, the rival of her own mother; and getting together an army of mercenaries, he made war against his sister and country. After this, he sends to Cyrene for his eldest son, and put him to death, lest the Alexandrians should make him king in his room. Upon this, the people pull down his images and statues. He imagining that they had done this to please his sister, murders his son whom he had by her, cuts him into several pieces, and putting the mangled body into a chest, sent it to his mother, in the midst of a great entertainment, prepared for the celebration of his birth-day. This horrid deed occasioned such sorrow, not only to the queen, but to the whole city, and cast such a melancholy damp upon the festival, that the whole court was on a sudden filled with grievous lamentations. Wherefore the thoughts of the great men being now turn'd from a feast to a funeral, they exposed the mangled body to the people, to let them see, by the murder of his son, what usage they were to expect from their king.

C H A P. IX. The mourning for the loss of her son being over, Cleopatra finding herself pressed by the arms of her brother, dispatch'd ambassadors, to demand help from Demetrius, king of Syria, whose adventures too were very various and remarkable. For after that this prince, as we have already related, had made war
upon

upon the Parthians, and worsted them in several battles, he had the misfortune to fall into an ambuscade of the enemy, and losing his army, was taken. Arsaces, king of Parthia, used him with a generosity becoming a king; for sending him into Hyrcania, he not only allow'd him a royal equipage, but gave him his daughter in marriage, and promised to restore him to his kingdom of Syria, which Trypho had usurp'd in his absence. After his death, Demetrius despairing of his return, and not able to endure his captivity, and weary of a private life, though very plentiful, contrived how to steal away into his kingdom. His friend Callimander was his companion and adviser, who, after his being taken, procuring guides by his money, came in a Parthian dress from Syria, through the desarts of Arabia to Babylon. But Phraates, who had succeeded Arsaces, sent a party of horse after him, who overtaking him by the swiftness of their horses, and by taking a shorter road, brought him back. When he was brought to the king, he not only pardon'd Callimander, but gave him a reward for his fidelity: but as for Demetrius, he not only severely reprimanded him, but sent him to his wife in Hyrcania, and order'd him to be more strictly confined for the future. Then, some time after, the children that were born to him having procured him more liberty, he endeavour'd to make his escape again with the same friend; but, by the like misfortune, he was taken not far from the frontiers of his own kingdom, and brought the second time before Phraates, who ordered him to be removed out of his sight, as one whom he could not endure to see. Being again spared for the sake of his wife and children, he was sent back into Hyrcania, the country of his punishment, and was presented with golden dice, to reproach him with his childish levity. This clemency of the Parthians towards Demetrius, was not the effect of compassion, neither was it owing to the regard they had to consanguinity, but to their designs upon the kingdom of Syria; to accomplish which they proposed to make use of Demetrius against his brother Antiochus, as the circumstances of affairs, the times, or the fortune of war should require.

C H A P. X. When Antiochus was informed of these things, thinking it expedient to prevent the Parthians, leads forth his army, harden'd by many wars with his neighbours, against them. But his provisions for luxury were not inferior to his military preparations; for fourscore armed men were attended with three hundred thousand servants, of which the greater number were cooks, bakers, and stage-players. There was such abundance, 'tis certain, of silver and gold, that even the common soldiers fasten'd their buskins with gold; and trod upon that metal, to purchase which the rest of the world take up arms against one another. Their kitchen utensils were all of silver; just as if they had been going to a banquet, not to war. Many kings of the East met Antiochus upon his arrival, and delivered up themselves and their kingdoms to him, out of detestation of the Parthian arrogance. It was not long before both sides came to an engagement. Antiochus having gained three battles, and having seized Babylon, began to be esteemed a great man. Wherefore all these nations going over to him, the Parthians had nothing left, besides their own ancient territory. Upon this, Phraates sends Demetrius with a guard of Parthians into Syria, to seize his kingdom, that by this means Antiochus might be obliged to leave Parthia, and look after his affairs at home. In the mean time, he laid ambuscades every where for Antiochus, because he durst not attack him openly. Antiochus had disposed of his army, because of its greatness, in several cities, for winter quarters; and this dispersion of his men was the cause of his ruin. For the cities finding themselves oppressed by subsisting the soldiers, and harassed by their daily outrages, revolted to their old masters the Parthians; and, upon a day appointed, attack the army in an underhand manner, as they lay scattered thro' several places, so that they could not give any assistance to one another. Antiochus having got intelligence of this, he goes with that body of troops that wintered with him, in order to succour those that lay nearest. In his way he encountered the king of the Parthians, against whom he himself engaged more bravely than his army.

army. Yet, at last, as the enemy prevail'd by their valour, being deserted by his men, through their cowardice, he was slain. Phrahates made a splendid funeral for him, and married the daughter of Demetrius, whom Antiochus had brought along with him, being enamour'd of the young lady. Then he began to regret his having dismissed Demetrius; and dispatched some troops of horse in all haste to fetch him back: but they found that Demetrius, who was apprehensive of this very thing, had already arrived in his kingdom, and having tried all methods of executing their orders in vain, returned to their king.

B O O K XXXIX.

A SUMMARY of the CHAPTERS.

- I. *Demetrius loses Syria, while he endeavours to possess himself of Egypt. His fatal end.*
- II. *Alexander is, from a base extraction, raised to a throne. Is slain by Grypus, who kills his father and brother.*
- III. *Cleopatra queen of Egypt, occasions great disorders in that kingdom.*
- IV. *A relation of the bloody dissensions she occasioned in her own family. At last, she is slain by her son Alexander.*
- V. *Alexander is banished, and Ptolemy recalled. The Romans open their way to the empire of the East. Egypt and Syria harraßed with perpetual wars.*

C H A P. I.

AFTER Antiochus and all his army were cut off in Parthia, his brother Demetrius being delivered from the invasion of the Parthians, and restored to his kingdom; whilst all Syria was in mourning for the loss of the army, as if his and his brother's wars with the Parthians, in which the one was taken, and the other slain,

slain, had succeeded happily ; he resolves to make war upon Egypt ; Cleopatra, his mother-in-law, promising him the kingdom of Egypt, as the reward of his assistance against his brother. But, as it usually happens to the ambitious, whilst he was grasping at what belong'd to his brother, he lost his own, by the revolt of Syria. For the people of Antioch detesting his excessive pride, which he had learnt among the cruel Parthians, were the first who revolted from him in his absence, under the conduct of Trypho, the head of the faction : and soon after, the Apamenians, and other cities, followed their example. Ptolemy the king of Egypt, against whom also he made war, being informed that his sister Cleopatra had loaded several ships with the riches of Egypt, and fled into Syria to her daughter, and Demetrius her son-in-law, sent a young Egyptian, the son of one Protarchus, a merchant, to claim the kingdom of Syria by arms, under this forged pretence, that he was adopted into the royal family by king Antiochus ; the Syrians being willing to admit any one for king, provided they could get rid of the insufferable insolence of Demetrius. This youth had the name of Alexander given him, and great succours were sent him from Egypt. In the mean time, the body of Antiochus, who had been slain by the king of Parthia, arrived in Syria, to be interred honourably, carried in a coffin of silver ; and it was received by the inhabitants of all the cities through which it passed, with great marks of affection to his memory : and in order to give an air of truth to the fable of his adoption, Alexander fell short of none in this respect ; which procured him extraordinary favour among the people, all imagining his tears not counterfeit, but real. As for Demetrius, after he had been defeated by Alexander, and was now surrounded by misfortunes on all hands, he was, at last, abandoned by his wife and sons : so that, without any retinue, but a few servants, he set sail for Tyre, where he hoped to find sanctuary in a temple. But as he was coming out of the ship, he was slain by the governor's orders. Seleucus, one of his sons, was assassinated by his own mother, because he had assumed the crown without

without her consent ; the other, who, on account of his large nose, was surnamed Grypus, was advanced to the throne by his mother, but upon this condition, that she should have all the power, and he content himself with the name of a king.

C H A P. II. But Alexander having made himself master of Syria, and being puffed up with the success of his affairs, began now to extend his pride and insolence even to Ptolemy himself, by whose address, in managing the imposture, he had obtained the crown. Wherefore Ptolemy, reconciling himself with his sister, resolves to exert all his force to dispossess Alexander of that kingdom, to which he, out of hatred to Demetrius, had raised him. So he sent considerable assistance to Grypus, and gave him his daughter Tryphena in marriage, to encourage the people to stand by his nephew, when they saw him supported, not only by his alliance with him for the war, but by a new one of affinity : nor was it in vain ; for when all people saw Grypus furnished with the power of Egypt, they, by degrees, fell off from Alexander, and espoused his interest. Not long after, a battle was fought between the two kings, in which Alexander being defeated, fled to Antioch : there, wanting money, and the soldiers wanting their pay, he commanded the statue of victory, which was of gold, to be taken out of the temple of Jupiter ; making this jesting excuse for his sacrilege, that Jupiter stretched out the victory to him. Some days after, having ordered a gold statue of Jupiter himself to be carried off privately, being discovered in the sacrilegious fact, he was forced by the multitude to fly for it ; but being surprized by a furious tempest, and deserted by all his men, he was, at last, taken by thieves, who brought him to Grypus, by whose order he was put to death. Grypus having thus recover'd his father's kingdom, and fearing no disturbance from abroad, was attack'd by a plot laid by his own mother ; who having sacrificed her husband Demetrius, and one of her sons, to her insatiable ambition, saw with indignation her credit diminished by the victory of her other son, and presented him a cup of poison, upon his coming
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ing from his exercises. But this prince having been inform'd before-hand of her design, desired her, as out of respect, to drink first, and, upon her refusing, urged her the more pressingly. At last, producing his informer, he plainly charged her with the fact; and added, that she had no other way to clear herself, but by drinking what she offered her son. The queen being thus baffled, and her wickedness turned against herself, is killed with the poison she had prepared for another. Wherefore Grypus having thus procured a firm establishment in his kingdom, he and his subjects lived in peace for eight years. After that, Cyzicenus, his brother by the same mother, but begotten by Antiochus his uncle, started up against him, as a competitor for his kingdom; him Grypus had laid a plot to poison, and this made him the more forward to contend with Grypus for the kingdom, by force of arms.

C H A P. III. During these most unnatural and barbarous differences in the kingdom of Syria, Ptolemy king of Egypt dies, and left his kingdom to his wife, and any one of his sons, whom she should choose; as if Egypt could promise itself more quiet than the kingdom of Syria, when the mother, by electing one of her sons king, was sure to make the other her enemy. Wherefore, tho' her own inclination led her to nominate the youngest of her sons, she was obliged by the people to choose the elder; but before she gave him the kingdom, she compell'd him to divorce his sister Cleopatra, whom he sincerely loved, and to marry his youngest sister Selene; a determination, with regard to two sisters, nothing like a mother, since she forced away a husband from the one, to bestow him on the other. But Cleopatra, who was not divorced by any fault of her husband, but by the injustice of her mother, married Cyzicenus in Syria; and that she might not bring him the bare name of a wife, she carried over, by way of fortune to him, Grypus's army, which she had found means to debauch. Wherefore Cyzicenus, being now a match for his brother, gave him battle; but being defeated, was put to flight, and went to Antioch. Then Grypus invested Antioch, where was Cleopatra, the wife of Cyzicenus;

Cyzicenus ; and having taken it, the first thing his wife Tryphena thought of, was to find out Cleopatra ; not to relieve her in distress, but to prevent her escaping the sad effects of captivity ; since it was out of envy to her, she had invaded the kingdom of Syria, and she had sufficiently declared her hostile intentions to her, by marrying her declared enemy. Then she charges her with bringing foreign soldiers to decide the disputes between brothers ; and also that being divorced from her former husband, she had married out of Egypt, contrary to the will of her mother. Grypus, on the contrary, begg'd of her, that she would not compel him to commit so vile a crime ; that none of his ancestors had ever, amongst so many civil and foreign wars wherein they had been victorious, exercised any cruelty upon women, whom their very sex protected from all the dangers of war, and the insults of conquerors : and that there was, besides this common right of war with respect to women, in her case, the particular tie of blood ; for she whom she would treat so cruelly, was her own sister, the cousin-german of her husband, and aunt to their children. To these obligations of blood, he adds the religious regard to the temple, whither she had fled for refuge ; saying, the gods ought to be so much the more religiously revered by him, the more he had conquer'd by their favour : and that by killing her, he should not weaken Cyzicenus, nor by restoring her to him, strengthen him. But the more Grypus refused it, the more obstinately did his wife, as is common with the sex, persevere in her first resolution, supposing her husband's words to have been the dictates, not of pity, but love. Wherefore, calling some soldiers to her, she sent them to stab her sister ; who coming into the temple where she was, and not being able to drag her out of it, cut off both her hands, with which she embraced the statue of the goddess. Thus she expired, uttering most terrible imprecations against her unnatural persecutors, and recommending the care of her revenge to the gods, whom they had insulted by this violation of their temple. And not long after, a second battle being fought between the two brothers, Cyzicenus got the victory,

victory, took Tryphena, Grypus's wife, who a little before had slain her sister, and by her punishment made an attonement to the manes of his wife.

C H A P. IV. In Egypt, Cleopatra, very uneasy to have her son Ptolemy for her partner in the kingdom, stirred up the people against him; and having taken his wife Selene from him, with so much the more cruelty, that he had two children by her, forced him into banishment. At the same time, she sends for Alexander, her youngest son, making him king in his brother's room: and, as if her hatred was not satisfied with his banishment, she pursues him with war into Cyprus, where he lived in exile. After she had driven him from thence, she put to death the general of her army, because he had let him escape alive out of his hands; altho' Ptolemy quitted the country, not out of any diffidence of his own forces, which were equal to those of his mother, but because he was ashamed to make war against her. Alexander, terrified at this barbarity of his mother, left her likewise; preferring a secure and quiet life to a hazardous crown: but Cleopatra fearing lest her elder son Ptolemy should be assisted by Cyzicenus, for the recovery of Egypt, sends great assistance to Grypus, together with her daughter Selene, whom she sent to marry the enemy of her former husband; and dispatched ambassadors to her son Alexander, to recall him into Egypt. While she was darkly plotting the destruction of this prince, he prevented her, by killing her. Thus died Cleopatra, who had deserved to finish her days by parricide, and not by the ordinary course of nature; since she drove her mother from the bed of her father, and made her two daughters widows, by forcing their brothers to marry, and afterwards divorced them; and made war upon one son, after having forced him into banishment; and perfidiously attempted to take away the other's life, after his kingdom had been taken from him.

C H A P. V. But neither did this horrid murder of Alexander's go unpunished: for as soon as it was discovered that the mother had been slain by the villainy of her son, the people making an insurrection against him,

him, forced him into banishment, and recalling Ptolemy, restored the kingdom to him, because he would neither take up arms against his mother, nor even employ them against his brother, though he usurped a crown which he had wore before him. In the mean time, his natural brother, to whom his father had left the kingdom of Cyrene, died, leaving the Roman people his heir: for now the Roman power began to extend itself to the kingdoms of the East, not content with the limits of Italy. Thus that part of Libya became a province of the Roman empire. And soon after, Crete and Cilicia being subdued in the war with the pirates, were likewise reduced into provinces. Upon which, the kingdoms of Syria and Egypt, formerly accustomed to aggrandize themselves at the expence of their neighbours, upon whom they made war, being now straiten'd by the neighbourhood of the Romans, and incapable of making any excursions beyond their own frontiers, turned their arms against one another; so that being exhausted by continual battles, they came into contempt with their neighbours, and were a prey to the Arabians, a nation heretofore esteemed not very warlike. Erotimus their king was the first that gave reputation to their arms, relying upon his seven hundred sons, which he had by his concubines; for, dividing his troops, he one while infested Egypt, and another while Syria; and while the neighbouring nations were weakened by their severe bleedings, the name of the Arabians waxed great.

B O O K XL.

A SUMMARY of the CHAPTERS.

- I. *The Syrians choose Tigranes, king of Armenia, to govern them.*
- II. *After the defeat of Tigranes, Antiochus, the son of Cyzicenus, is made king of Syria, which was afterwards reduced into the form of a province.*

C H A P

C H A P. I.

THE kings and kingdoms of Syria having been much exhausted by long and bloody wars, occasioned by the mutual animosities of brothers; and after that, by their sons succeeding to the quarrels of their fathers; the people had recourse to foreign assistance, and began to look about for a prince out of some neighbouring nation. Wherefore whilst part were for calling Mithridates of Pontus, part for Ptolemy from Egypt, when it came to be considered that Mithridates was engaged in the Roman war, and that Ptolemy had always been an enemy of the Syrians, they unanimously pitch'd upon Tigranes king of Armenia; who, besides the forces of his own kingdom, was supported by his alliance with the Parthians, and his affinity with Mithridates. Thus being invited to the throne of Syria, he enjoyed the kingdom for eighteen years in so great quiet, that he never was necessitated to take up arms, either to attack others, or to defend himself.

C H A P. II. But though Syria was secure from enemies, it was laid waste by an earthquake, in which a hundred and seventy thousand men, and many cities perished; which prodigy was said, by the soothsayers, to portend a revolution in the state. Wherefore, after Tigranes was conquered by Lucullus, Antiochus, the son of Cyzicenus, was proclaimed king of Syria by the same Lucullus. But what Lucullus had given, Pompey took away afterwards; who, when he demanded his kingdom, answered him, that though Syria were willing to accept of him, he would not give Syria a king, who for eighteen years, while Tigranes usurped the crown of Syria, had lain lurking in a corner of Cilicia; and now he was defeated by the Romans, came to demand the reward of others labours; and much less would he force such a king upon them, since they refused him: that as he had not taken the kingdom from one that had it, so would he not give him what he had quitted to Tigranes, because he knew not how to defend it, lest he should again expose Syria to the insults
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and devastations of the Arabians and Jews. And accordingly, he reduced Syria into a province: and thus the whole eastern world fell by degrees into the hands of the Romans, through the dissensions of kings of the same race.

BOOK XLI.

A SUMMARY of the CHAPTERS.

- I. *The original of the Parthians: Their name formerly very little known. Their successes and empire.*
- II. *Their form of government. Their language, dress, arms, and manner of fighting.*
- III. *Their customs and manners; their virtues and vices, genius and religion.*
- IV. *The exploits of their kings.*
- V. *The wisdom of Arsaces, king of Parthia. His life and death.*
- VI. *The state of the Bactrian kingdom under Eucratides, who was slain by his son. The victories of the Parthians.*

CHAP. I.

THE Parthians, who are now in possession of the empire of the East, having, as it were, divided the world with the Romans, came originally from Scythian exiles. This too is evident from their name: for in the Scythian language, the word *Partbi* signifies *Exiles*. This nation, in the times both of the Assyrians and Medes, was the obscurest in the East. Afterwards too, when the empire of the East was transferred from the Medes to the Persians, they were an easy prey to the conquerors, like a vulgar herd without a name. At last, they came under the Macedonian yoke, when they carried their triumphant arms into these parts of the world; so that it is really strange that they should have arrived to such power as to rule over those nations, whose

whose slaves they had formerly been. Being thrice attack'd by the Romans, under the conduct of their greatest generals, in the most flourishing times of the republic, they alone, of all nations, were not only a match for them, but came off victorious; yet perhaps it was still a greater glory for them to be able to rise, amidst the Assyrian, Median, and Persian kingdoms, so famous of old, and the most opulent empire of Bactria, consisting of a thousand cities, than that they defeated a people that came from so remote a part of the world; especially when at that time they were incessantly alarmed by the Scythians, and their other neighbours, and exposed to so many uncertainties of war. They being forced to leave Scythia, by seditions at home, did, by stealth, possess themselves of the deserts between Hyrcania, the Dahæ, the Arians, the Spartans, and Margians. After which, their neighbours, not resisting at first, they, at last, in spite of their opposition, when they came too late to hinder them, so far extended their frontiers, that they not only took possession of vast plains, but also of craggy hills, and steep mountains. And hence it comes, that the heat and cold are excessive in several provinces of Parthia; for the snow is troublesome in the mountainous parts, and the heat in the plains.

CHAP. II. This nation was under kingly government, after their revolt from the Macedonian empire. With them the chiefs of the populace were next in power to the king. Out of them were chosen their generals in war, and their governors in peace. Their language is a mixture of the Median and Scythian, borrowing words from both. Their habit was formerly very particular; but after they were encreased in power, it was like that of the Medes, full flowing, and thin. They are armed like the Scythians, from whom they are descended. Their armies are not like those of other nations, composed wholly of free-men, but chiefly of slaves; the numbers of which encrease prodigiously, none having the power of manumitting. They treat these with as much care as their children, and teach them, with great industry, both riding and shooting.

shooting. Every one furnishes his prince with horsemen, in proportion to his ability. To conclude, when fifty thousand horsemen met Anthony, upon his attacking the Parthians, four hundred of them only were free-men. They are ignorant of the art of besieging towns, or of engaging in close fight. They fight on horseback, sometimes advancing, and sometimes turning back upon their enemies. They often counterfeit flight, that they may have an advantage of their pursuers, less upon their guard. The signal for battle is not given by trumpet, but by drum. They do not hold out long in fight; and indeed it would be impossible to stand before them, if their perseverance was equal to the fury of their onset. For the most part, they quit the battle in the very heat of an engagement, and on the sudden renew it with great vehemence; so that one is in greatest danger from them, when he thinks he has conquered them. A sort of strong coats, made of little plates, in the fashion of feathers, are used by them, to cover both them and their horses. They use no gold or silver, but only in their arms.

CHAP. III. Each particular man was allowed to have several wives, for the pleasure of variety; and they punish no crime so severely as adultery. To prevent it, they not only exclude their women from their feasts, but forbid them the very sight of men. They eat no flesh, but what they take by hunting. They ride on horseback at all times; on horse they go to feasts; pay civilities, public and private; march out, stand still, traffic, converse. This, in fine, is the difference between slaves and free-men, that the slaves go on foot, the free-men on horseback. Their common way of sepulture is being devoured by dogs, or birds, and after that, burying the bare bones in the ground. In their superstition and worship of the gods, the principal veneration is paid to rivers. The nation is naturally proud, treacherous, seditious, insolent; for a boisterous rough behaviour they think manly. Gentleness, they think, belongs to women, as their character. They are restless to be engaged in some quarrel, at home or abroad; taciturn
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by temper, and more ready to act than speak ; wherefore they conceal their good or bad fortune by their silence. They are subject to their princes, not out of duty, but fear. They are much addicted to lust, tho' very temperate in their diet ; and they pay no more regard to their word, than suits with their interest.

C H A P. IV. After the death of Alexander the Great, when the kingdoms of the East were divided amongst his successors, because none of the Macedonians would condescend to accept of the kingdom of the Parthians, it was delivered to Stasanor, a foreign ally. And afterwards, when the Macedonians were involved in a civil war, they, with the rest of the nations of Upper Asia, followed Eumenes ; and when he was defeated, they went over to Antigonus. After him, they were under Nicator Seleucus ; and soon after, under Antiochus, and his successors ; from whose grandson Seleucus, they first revolted in the first Punic war, when L. Manlius Vulso, and M. Atilius Regulus, were consuls. The divisions of the two brothers, Seleucus and Antiochus, procured them an impunity for this revolt, who, during their contentions to wrest the scepter out of one another's hands, neglected to pursue the revolters. At the same time, Theodotus too, the governor of the thousand cities of Bactria, revolted, and commanded himself to be called king ; which example, all the Eastern nations soon followed, and shook off the Macedonian yoke. There was, at this time, one Arfaces, a man of tried valour, though of uncertain extraction. He, being accustomed to live by robbery and plunder, having heard that Seleucus had been overthrown by the Gauls in Asia, fearing the king no longer, entered the country of the Parthians with a band of robbers, defeated and killed Andragoras his lieutenant, and seized the government of the whole country. Not long after, he likewise made himself master of Hyrcania ; and being now in possession of two kingdoms, he raised a great army, for fear of Seleucus, and Theodotus king of the Bactrians. But being soon delivered from his fears, by the death of Theodotus, he makes peace, and enters into an alliance with his son, who was like-

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wife named Theodotus : and not long after, engaging with king Seleucus, who came to punish the revoltors, he had a victory ; and this day the Parthians observe ever since with great solemnity, as the commencement of their liberty.

C H A P. V. Some new disturbances obliging Seleucus to return into Asia, some respite was, by this means, given to Arsaces, who took this opportunity to establish the Parthian government, levy soldiers, fortify castles, and secure the fidelity of his cities. He built a city too, called Dara, upon the mountain Zapaortennon ; which was so situated, that no city could be stronger, or pleasanter : for it was so environed with rough rocks on all sides, that it needed no garrison to defend it : and so fertile was the adjacent soil, that it was abundantly furnished with all necessaries, by its own riches. Then there were in such plenty woods and fountains, that there was never any scarcity of water ; and it had vast store of game. Thus Arsaces having at once acquired and established a kingdom, was no less memorable among the Parthians, than Cyrus among the Persians, Alexander among the Macedonians, or Romulus among the Romans ; and he died in a good old age. To his memory the Parthians paid this honour, that from him they called all their kings by the name of Arsaces. His son and successor in the kingdom, who was Arsaces by name, fought with great bravery against Antiochus, the son of Seleucus, who came against him with a hundred thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse, and, at last, made an alliance with him. The third king of the Parthians was Priapatius ; but he too was named Arsaces ; for, as was said above, they called all their kings by that name, as the Romans do theirs Cæsar and Augustus. He died, after he had reigned fifteen years, leaving two sons, Mithridates and Phrahates ; the elder of whom, Phrahates, being, according to the custom of this nation, heir of the kingdom, subdued, by his arms, the Mardians, a strong nation, and died not long after, leaving several sons behind him, whom he passed by, and left his kingdom to his brother Mithridates, a man of uncommon abilities ;

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judging that more was due to the name of king, than that of father; and that he ought to prefer the interest of his country to the grandeur of his children.

C H A P. VI. Almost at the same time, as Mithridates among the Parthians, so Eucratides amongst the Bactrians, both princes of great merit, began to reign. But the uncommon good fortune of the Parthians brought them, under this monarch, to the highest pitch of greatness. The Bactrians, on the other hand, being distressed by several wars, not only lost their sovereignty, but their liberty; for being exhausted by wars with the Sogdians, Drangians, and Indians, were, like a people quite enfeebled and expiring, subdued by the Persians, who had been, a little before, much weaker than they. However Eucratides carried on many wars with great vigour; and though his losses had much weaken'd him, yet being besieged by Demetrius, king of the Indians, with only three hundred soldiers he made continual sallies, and so fatigued the enemy, consisting of sixty thousand men, that he obliged them to raise the siege. Wherefore, being delivered from the siege, in the fifth month, he reduced India under his power; but, in his return from thence, he was assassinated by his son, whom he had made his partner in the kingdom; who was so far from concealing the parricide, that, as if he had killed an enemy, and not his father, he drove his chariot through his blood, and order'd his body to be thrown out unburied. During these transactions in Bactria, a war breaks out between the Parthians and the Medes. After the success of this war had for some time been various, victory, at last, fell to the Parthians. Mithridates, enforced with this addition to his strength, sets Bacasis over Media, and goes himself into Hyrcania; from whence returning, he made war upon the king of the Elymeans; and, after the conquest of him, he added this nation likewise to his dominions; and so extended the Parthian empire, from mount Caucasus, as far as the river Euphrates, by reducing many nations under his yoke. After this, being seized with an illness, he died in an honourable old age, not at all inferior in glory to his great grandfather.

Alaces.

B O O K XLII.

A SUMMARY of the CHAPTERS.

- I. *Phrahates, the son and successor of Mithridates, is killed by the soldiers.*
- II. *Mithridates, surnamed the Great, reigns after Artabanus. He makes war upon Armenia. A digression about the original, and first kings of that country.*
- III. *An Eloge upon Jason and Armenius, founder of the kingdom of Armenia. The head of the river Tigris.*
- IV. *Mithridates turned out: Orodes succeeds him; who is touched with remorse for his parricides, and other cruelties. His fate.*
- V. *The horrible parricides of Phrahates, the son of Orodes. The various adventures of this prince. Augustus makes him restore the prisoners and ensigns which the Parthians had taken from the Romans.*

C H A P. I.

AFTER the death of Mithridates, king of Parthia, Phrahates his son succeeded to the kingdom; who being resolved to revenge himself upon Antiochus, for attacking the kingdom of Parthia, was recalled, by disturbances, from Scythia, to defend his own country. For the Scythians, being invited by promises to assist the Parthians against Antiochus, king of Syria, having arrived, after the war was ended, were frustrated of their promised reward, under the idle pretence of their coming too late; and it made the Scythians so angry, that they should have had so long a march for nothing, that they demanded either pay for their trouble, or that some other enemy should be allotted them. The haughty reply given to this demand, so enraged them, that they began to ravage the country of the Parthians. Wherefore Phrahates marching against them, left one Hymerus, who had recommended himself to his favour,

by prostituting the bloom of his youth to his infamous lust, the care of his kingdom in his absence. This governor, forgetting his past life, and the trust he was charged with, miserably harassed the Babylonians, and many other cities, by his tyrannical cruelties. But Phrahates himself carries along with him to the war, an army of Greeks, which he had taken in the war against Antiochus, and treated with great pride and barbarity; not at all considering that their hatred to him was so far from being lessen'd by their captivity, that they were rather more exasperated against him, by the indignity of the outrages they had suffered. Wherefore, when they saw the army of the Parthians give ground, they joined their arms with those of the enemy, and executed their long wished-for revenge for their captivity, by the bloody havock they made on the Parthian army, and by the death of king Phrahates himself.

C H A P. II. Artabanus his uncle was made king in his room; but the Scythians being content with victory, having laid waste Parthia, return home. But Artabanus, in a war made upon the Thogarians, received a wound in his arm, of which he died immediately. He was succeeded by his son Mithridates, to whom his exploits gained the fir-name of Great; for, being fired with a brave emulation of his forefathers, he surpassed their fame by the greatness of his soul. Accordingly, he carried on many wars against his neighbours, with signal gallantry, and added many provinces to the Parthian empire. Not satisfied with this, he often had war with the Scythians; and by the victories he obtained over them, revenged the injury his father had received from them. At last, he employ'd his arms against Ortoadistes, king of the Armenians: and as we are now passing into Armenia, we must ascend a little higher, to give an account of its original; for it is not allowable to pass over so great a kingdom in silence, which, next to that of Parthia, is the greatest in extent in the world. Armenia extends from Cappadocia as far as to the Caspian sea, eleven hundred miles; but in breadth is stretched but seven hundred miles. It was planted by Armenius, the companion of Jason the Thessalian,

Theſſalian, whom king Pelias, deſirous to remove him out of the way, through jealousy of his extraordinary abilities, which he looked upon to be dangerous to his kingdom, ſent upon an expedition to Colchos, to bring home the golden fleece, ſo much talk'd of in the world; expecting that he would loſe his life, either in the dangers of ſo long a voyage, or in war with ſo barbarous a people. At the report of ſo glorious an expedition, ſpread by Jaſon, the principal youth of Greece haſtening to him, he ſoon raiſed an army of very gallant men, who were called Argonauts. Having brought back this army ſafe, after having performed ſeveral great exploits by their aſſiſtance, he was driven again out of Theſſaly, by the ſons of Pelias. Upon this, he embark'd once more for Colchos with a great multitude, who, encouraged by his fame, came daily from all parts to join him. His wife Medea attended him, whom having before divorced, he had now taken again; and his ſtep-ſon Medeus, whom that princeſs had by Ægæus king of Athens: and he reſtored his father-in-law to his kingdom, out of which he had been driven.

C H A P. III. He afterwards made war upon the neighbouring nations; and having taken ſeveral cities, he added part of them to his father-in-law's kingdom, to compenſate the injuries he had done him in his former expedition, wherein he had carried off his daughter Medea, and murdered his ſon Ægialius; and part he aſſigned to the people which he had brought along with him. He is ſaid to have been the firſt, after Hercules and Bacchus, who, according to the common opinion, were kings of the Eaſt, that ſubdued this part of the world. He ſet over ſome of theſe nations, Recas and Amphiſtratus, the chariotcers of Caſtor and Pollux. He made an alliance with the Albanians, who are reported to have followed Hercules out of Italy, from the foot of the Alban mountain, when, after the killing of Geryon, he drove his herds through Italy; and who, being mindful of their Italian extraction, ſaluted the army of Cn. Pompeius, in the Mithridatic war, by the name of brethren. Wherefore almoſt the whole Eaſt appointed divine honours to be paid to Jaſon, as to
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their founder, and erected temples to him ; which Parmenion, one of the lieutenants of Alexander the Great, ordered to be razed many years after, that no name might be held in higher veneration in the East, than that of Alexander. After the death of Jason, Medius, emulous of his great virtues, built the city Media, in honour of his mother, and established the kingdom of the Medes, so called from his name, which afterwards grew so great, as to possess the monarchy of the East. The Amazons are neighbours to the Albans, whose queen Thalestris is said, by many authors, to have offered her embraces to Alexander. Armenius likewise being himself a Thessalian, and one of Jason's captains, having drawn a considerable body of men together, who, after the death of their leader Jason, were wandering up and down, laid the foundations of the kingdom of Armenia ; from the mountains of which the river Tigris rises, and is there but very small. At some distance from hence, it sinks under ground, and after five and twenty miles course, rises up again in the province of Sophene, and is at last lost in the marshes of the Euphrates.

C H A P. IV. After the war of Armenia, Mithridates, king of the Parthians, was banished his kingdom, for his cruelty, by the Parthian senate. Orodes his brother, having possessed himself of the vacant throne, besieged Babylon, to which city this fugitive prince had fled ; and after a long siege, forced the people, by famine, to surrender. Mithridates, relying upon his being so nearly related to Orodes, voluntarily gives himself up to him : but Orodes considering him rather as an enemy than a brother, commanded him to be killed in his own presence ; and, after these things, carried on a war with the Romans, and cut to pieces their general Crassus, together with his son, and all his army. His son Pacorus being sent to pursue the remainder of the Roman war, after he had performed very great actions in Syria, was recalled by his father, who was become jealous of him. In his absence, the Parthian army left in Syria, was cut off, with its commanders, by Cassius, paymaster to Crassus. Not long
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after this, the civil wars between Cæsar and Pompey broke out, in which the Parthians declared for the latter, because of the friendship contracted with him in the Mithridatic war; and because of Crassus's death, whose son they had heard was of Cæsar's party, who, they made no doubt, would revenge his father, if Cæsar proved conqueror. Wherefore Pompey's party having lost the day, they both sent assistance to Cassius and Brutus against Augustus and Anthony; and after the war was over, under their leader Pacorus, making an alliance with Labienus, they laid waste Syria and Asia; and with a mighty force attack'd the camp of Ventidius, who, in the absence of Pacorus, had routed the Parthian armies, as Cassius had done before him. But Ventidius, counterfeiting fear, kept himself a long time in his camp, and for some time suffered the Parthians to insult him. At last, he sent out some of his legions against the enemy, now grown secure, and off their guard, and full of joy, who, not able to resist them, fled several ways. Pacorus imagining that the victorious legions had pursued the fliers too far, attack'd Ventidius's camp, as if there had been none left to defend it. Upon this, the Roman general draws out the rest of his legions, kills Pacorus upon the spot, and puts the whole army of the Parthians to the sword, who never received so great a blow in any of their wars. When this news came to Parthia, Orodes, the father of Pacorus, who, a little before, had heard that his troops had ravaged Syria, and conquered Asia, and had boasted of his son, as conqueror of the Romans, hearing on a sudden of his son's death, and entire defeat of his army, was struck with grief that threw him into a frenzy. For during several days he would speak to no body; so that he seemed to be dumb; nor would he take any refreshment. And when his grief, at last, had found a vent, he called incessantly upon Pacorus: Pacorus he fancied to appear to him, to speak to him, to stand with him, and be heard by him. Sometimes he mournfully bewailed himself as lost; then, after long mourning, another care seized this miserable old man, and that was, whom of his thirty sons he should declare his

successor in the room of Pacorus. His many concubines, by whom he had so many sons, being each concerned for her own, laid all of them very close siege to the king, each in favour of her own: but the fate of Parthia, in which country it is now become customary to have princes stained with the blood of their fathers and brothers, would so have it, that the choice fell upon the wickedest of them all, Phraates too by name.

CHAP. V. Wherefore he immediately killed his father, thinking he would never die. He likewise kills all his thirty brothers. Neither did his cruelty stop there: for finding he was hated by the nobility for his daily barbarities, he ordered his son, who was almost grown up to the years of maturity, to be slain; that there might none be left to be proclaimed king. Anthony made war upon him with sixteen very able legions, because he had furnished assistance against him and Cæsar; but being sadly maul'd in several battles, he fled from Parthia. This victory making Phraates insupportably insolent and cruel, he was forced by his people into banishment. After he had for a long time wearied the neighbouring states, and at last the Scythians too, with his importunity, he is restored to his kingdom by a powerful assistance from the Scythians. In his absence, the Parthians had made one Tiridates their king, who hearing of the approach of the Scythians, fled with a great body of his friends to Cæsar, at that time waging war with Spain, bringing the youngest son of Phraates as hostage to Cæsar, whom being negligently guarded, he had stole away. Upon this news, Phraates immediately sends ambassadors to Cæsar, and demands, that his son, together with his wife Tiridates, should be sent back to him. Cæsar, having given audience to the ambassadors of Phraates, and heard the reasons of Tiridates, who desired to be restored to his crown, declaring that the kingdom of Parthia would be, in a manner, subject to the Romans, if he held it from them, said, that he would neither surrender Tiridates to the Parthians, nor give assistance to Tiridates against the Parthians. However, that he might not seem to refuse them every thing they demanded,

manded, he sent Phrañates his son to him, without any ransom, and ordered a handsome maintenance for Tiridates, so long as he had a mind to continue amongst the Romans. After this, the Spanish war being ended, when he came into Syria, to settle the state of the East, Phrañates was afraid that he might have some designs upon Parthia. Wherefore the prisoners who had been taken at the defeat of Crassus and Anthony, were gathered together, and they, together with the military standards either of them had lost, were sent back to Augustus. Nor was this all, but the sons and grandsons of Phrañates were likewise delivered as hostages to Augustus. And thus Augustus did more by the terror of his name, than any other general could have done by his arms.

B O O K XLIII.

A SUMMARY of the CHAPTERS.

- I. *The beginnings of the Roman empire. The foundation of the city of Rome. The first inhabitants, and first kings of Italy.*
- II. *Rhea, the daughter of Numitor, delivered of Romulus, and Remus, who were miraculously preserved.*
- III. *After the building of Rome, a senate is established. The rape of the Sabine women. The Romans subdue their neighbours. The Phocæans build Massilia in the time of Tarquin.*
- IV. *The various fortune of the Massilians.*
- V. *The wars and treaties made by the Massilians. Their steady adherence to the Roman interest.*

C H A P. I.

HAVING dispatched the affairs of the Parthians, and other eastern countries, and almost of the whole world, Trogus Pompeius, like a traveller that returns to his country after long rambling, comes home and relates the original of the city of Rome; thinking it would have

been great ingratitude in a Roman citizen, if, after he had illustrated the affairs of other nations, he had been silent of his native country only. Wherefore he briefly recounts the rise of the Roman empire, so as not to swell his work to a greater volume than he had intended, nor wholly leap over the origin of a city, which is now the mistress of the universe. The first inhabitants of Italy were the Aborigines, whose king Saturn is said to have been a prince of such extraordinary justice, that during his reign, there was no servitude nor property, but all things lay common to all, and undivided, as one estate for the use of all. In memory of which way of life, it has been provided, that in the Saturnalia, all distinctions being laid aside, slaves should every where sit down at the festivals with their masters. Italy was called, from that king's name, Saturnia, and the mountain on which he dwelt, Saturnius, or Saturn's Hill, where now stands the capitol; as if Jupiter had driven Saturn from his old habitation. Faunus is said to have been the third king after him, under whom Evander came from Palanteum, a city of Arcadia, into Italy, with a small number of his countrymen, to whom Faunus kindly assigned both lands and the mountain, which he afterwards called Palatium. At the bottom of this he built a temple to Lyceus, whom the Greeks call Pan, and the Romans, Lupercus. The naked statue of the god was covered with a goat's skin, and in this habit the priests now run up and down thro' Rome, during the Lupercalia. Faunus had a wife called *Fatua*, who being constantly possessed with a spirit of inspiration, did predict future events in a frantic manner; from whence, to this day, the inspired are said *Fatua* *a* *i.* Latinus was descended of a daughter of Faunus and Hercules, who having slain Geryon, carried his flocks, which were the rewards of his victory, through Italy. In his reign Æneas came into Italy from Illium, after the destruction of Troy by the Greeks; and being received at first like an enemy, he drew out his forces into the field; but being then invited to a conference by Latinus, his extraordinary virtues struck Latinus with such admiration, that he received him in-

to a partnership of his kingdom, and made him his son-in-law, by giving him his daughter Lavinia in marriage. After this, they carried on a common war against Turnus, king of the Rutilians, who was enraged to find himself defrauded of Lavinia; and in this war both Turnus and Latinus lost their lives. Wherefore when Æneas was now, by the right of victory, master of both nations, he built a city, which he called *Lavinium*, after the name of his wife. He afterwards turn'd his arms against Mezentius, king of the Etruscans; in which expedition he perished, leaving his son Ascanius to succeed him, who leaving Lavinium, built *Albalonga*, which was the capital of the kingdom for three hundred years.

C H A P. II. After many kings had reigned in this city, at last the crown descended to Numitor and Amulius; but the latter having got the better of the other, the elder condemned his daughter Rhea to perpetual virginity, lest a male child of Numitor's race might one day arise, and call him to account for usurping the kingdom; covering the cruelty over with a shew of honour, that she might appear to be chosen a priestess; and not to have been forced. Wherefore being shut up in a grove sacred to Mars, she had two sons; but whether by the god Mars, or by gallantry with some mortal, is uncertain. This double birth when Amulius came to know of it, gave him double fears, and therefore he ordered the boys to be exposed, and so loaded their mother with chains, that she died soon after of her hard usage. But fortune providing for the original of Rome, presented the children to a she-wolf, who having lost her cubs, and being desirous to empty her heavy teats, offered herself as a nurse to them. Whilst she frequently returned to the infants, as to her whelps, one Faustulus, a shepherd, observed the thing, and taking the children from the wild beast, brought them up among his cattle, in a rustic way of life. It was supposed that these boys were sons of Mars, upon two plain proofs; either that they were born in the grove of Mars, or that they had been nursed by a wolf, which animal is under the protection of that god. The name

of one of the boys was Remus, and of the other Romulus. Their daily contests in activity, when they were grown up amongst the shepherds, encreased their strength and swiftness. Wherefore, as they were frequently beating off, with great vigour, robbers from plundering the cattle, Remus being taken by the same robbers, was carried before the king; as if he had been guilty of that crime which he had so often hinder'd them from committing; and charg'd by them with infesting Numitor's own flocks. Upon this, he is delivered up to Numitor, to be punished by him as he pleased; but Numitor, moved with pity to the stripling, began to suspect he might be his supposed grandson, because of the resemblance of this young man to his daughter in features, and because his age agreed to the time of exposing the infants. While these circumstances kept him in uneasy suspense, Faustulus came up to him unexpectedly with Romulus, and discovered to him the birth of both. So all three immediately conspired against Amulius; the young men to revenge their mother's death, and Numitor for the recovery of his kingdom, which had been taken from him.

CHAP. III. After Amulius was killed, the kingdom was restored to Numitor, and the city of Rome built by the two brothers. After that, a senate was constituted, consisting of an hundred elders, who were called fathers. Then their neighbours disdainig to give them their daughters in marriage, the Sabine virgins were carried off by force. In fine, the little governments about them were subdued, and thus first the empire of Italy, and then that of the whole world, was acquired. In those times, princes, instead of diadems, wore spears, which the Greeks called scepters, as a mark of their dignity. For ever since the beginning of the world, the ancients worshipped spears as gods; in memory of which superstition, to this day, spears are given to the statues of the gods. In the reign of Tarquin, a company of young Phocæans left Asia, and sailing up the mouth of the Tiber, made an alliance with the Romans; and from thence directing their course to the furthest extremities of the Gaulic bay,
built

built the city of Massilia, situate between the Ligurians and the savage nations of the Gauls, and performed great exploits: either defending themselves against the Gallic brutality, or attacking in their turn those who had attack'd them before. For the Phoceans, compell'd by the narrowness and barrenness of their country, applied themselves more to navigation than to tillage, and supported themselves by fishing, but chiefly by piracy, which in these times was reckoned an honourable sort of livelihood. Wherefore venturing to visit the remotest coasts that border upon the ocean, they came into the Gallic bay, and up the river Rhone: and being charm'd with the pleasantness of the country, they were no sooner return'd home, than, by their accounts of it, they tempted several others of their countrymen to go and settle there. Simos and Protis were the leaders of this expedition; and they applied to the king of the Segobrigians, Nannus by name, for leave to build a city in his territory. The king, by chance, was that day taken up in making preparations for the marriage of his daughter Gyptis; for whom, according to the fashion of this country, he was to choose a husband, at a feast made on purpose. As all the pretenders were invited to the wedding, so the Grecian strangers were also entreated to be there. Then the young lady being brought in, and being commanded by her father to give water to the man whom she chose for her husband; overlooking all the rest, and turning to the Greeks, she delivers the water to Protis, who from the king's guest became his son-in-law, and had a place given him to build a city on. And accordingly, Massilia was built near the mouth of the river Rhone, in the bottom of a Bay, as it were, in a corner of the sea. But the Ligurians, invidious of the growing greatness of this city, fatigued the inhabitants with continual wars, who vigorously repell'd all their efforts, and grew so strong, that, at last, conquering their enemies, they planted several colonies in the lands they took.

CHAP. IV. From them therefore the Gauls learnt a more polite way of life, their former barbarity being laid aside, and the arts of agriculture, and of fortifying

fortifying their towns with walls. Then they became accustomed to live by laws, not violence ; to dress vines, and plant olives : and so much was the face of things altered here, both with regard to men and things, that Greece did not seem to have come into Gaul, but Gaul seemed transplanted into Greece. When Nannus, king of the Segobrigians, was dead, from whom they had received ground for building their city, his son Comanus succeeding him in the kingdom, a certain Ligurian assured him, that Massilia would some time prove the ruin of the neighbouring nations, and ought to be suppressed in its rise, lest growing too powerful, it should become able to master him. He supported his discourse by this fable, of a bitch, who being big with puppies, begged from a shepherd a place to bring forth her whelps, which being granted, she again desired leave to bring them up in the same place ; at last, when her whelps were grown up, relying upon her own domestic strength, she claimed the property of the place to herself. No otherwise, said he, will the Massilians, who now seem tenants, one day become masters of the country. The king, moved by this tale, laid a plot against the Massilians. Accordingly, upon the solemn day of the Floralia, he sent a great number of stout men into the city, who enter'd by the right of hospitality ; and he ordered more to be carried in, cover'd under rushes overlaid with branches, in waggon ; and he himself lurked with his army in the neighbouring mountains, that when the gates should be opened in the night, by the abovementioned men, he might immediately come to second them, and fall upon the city, buried in wine and sleep. But a certain woman, a relation of the king's, who had an intrigue with a Grecian youth, in the soft moments of love, betray'd this plot to him, through her fondness for his youth and beauty, and bid him avoid the danger. He immediately laid the matter before the magistrates ; and thus the plot being detected, all the Ligurians were seized, and the lurkers dragged from under their balruses ; thus all of them being slain, a plot is formed against the plotting king ; by which they surprized and killed him, together with

with seven thousand of the enemy upon the spot. Ever after, the Massilians, upon holy days, shut their gates, kept watch, and placed centinels on the walls, and examined strangers; and, in short, took all possible care to guard their city in peace, as in war. Thus what was wisely instituted at first, is still kept up, not thro' necessity, but thro' the custom of doing well.

C H A P. V. After this, the Massilians had continual wars with the Ligurians and Gauls; and by their victories over them, both encreased the glory of their city, and rendered the bravery of the Greeks famous among their neighbours. They defeated often whole armies of the Carthaginians, with whom they had a war, occasioned by a quarrel about taking some fisher-boats; and they granted peace to the conquer'd. They made an alliance with the Spaniard, and kept with the utmost integrity the league concluded with the Romans, almost soon after the building of that city; and assisted their allies in all their wars, very vigorously; which conduct not only gave them a greater confidence in their own forces, but was the occasion that their enemy left them in peace. Wherefore when Massilia seemed to be in its most flourishing condition, as well by the reputation which the great exploits of its inhabitants had gained them in the world, as by their strength and prodigious wealth, the neighbouring nations, on a sudden, associated to raze the very name of the Massilians, to oppose as it were to a fire which threatened them all. Catumandus, a petty prince in one of these countries, is chosen general by unanimous consent; who, as he was besieging the enemy's city with a great army of select men, being terrified in his sleep by the vision of a strange grim woman, who called herself a goddess, he very forwardly made peace with the Massilians: and having desired that he might be allowed to enter their city, and adore their gods; when he was come into the temple of Minerva, perceiving the statue of the goddess in the portico, who had appear'd to him in his sleep, he cried out, That was she that had frightened him in the night, That was she who had ordered him to raise the siege. Then congratulating the Massilians, that the
gods

gods were pleased to take their city under their particular protection, and having made a present to the goddess of a gold chain, he made an alliance for ever with the Massilians. Thus a peace being established, and they being very secure, the deputies of the Massilians returning from Delphi, where they had been sent to carry presents to Apollo, heard that the city of Rome had been taken by the Gauls, and burnt. This being told to their countrymen, the Massilians lamented this calamity of their ally with the mourning of a public funeral; and out of the public treasury, and their private purses, raised so much money as made up the sum which they had heard the Romans had engaged to pay, when they bought a peace of the Gauls. In acknowledgement of this eminent service, the Romans afterwards gave them an immunity from all taxes, and assigned to them a place in the theatre with their senators, and renewed the alliance with them in such terms, that their city was, in a manner, equal to Rome. In the last book, Trogus Pompeius says, that his ancestors derived their original from the Vocontii; and that his grandfather, whose name he bore, received the freedom of the city of Rome from Cn. Pompeius, in the Sertorian war; that his uncle commanded some troops of horse under the same general, in the war against Mithridates: that his father had served too under C. Cæsar, and was secretary, introducer of ambassadors, and also keeper of his seals.

B O O K XLIV.

A SUMMARY of the CHAPTERS.

- I. *The name of Spain; its situation and fertility; its rivers, and the goodness of its climate.*
- II. *The manners of the people Viriatus their first captain.*
- III. *The fable of the Lusitanian mares. The origin and wealth of the people of Gallicia.*

IV. *The*

IV. *The adventures of Habis king of Gallicia, and the neighbouring provinces. The wisdom of his government. Where Geryon reigned, who is reported to have had three heads.*

V. *The Carthaginians possess themselves of Spain. The violent death of most of their generals. Augustus Cæsar subdues the Spaniards.*

CHAP. I.

SPAIN, as it determines the limits of Europe, so shall it conclude this book. The ancients called it first Iberia, from the river Iberus, which waters it; and afterwards Hispania, from one Hispanus. This country being situated betwixt Africa and Gaul, is bounded by the streights of the ocean, and the Pyrenean mountains. As it is less in extent, so it is more fruitful than either of them; for it is neither burnt up by a too scorching sun, as Africa; nor exposed to those boisterous winds which molest Gaul: but lying in the middle between both, it is rendered fertile in all manner of fruits of the earth, by a moderate heat on one hand, and seasonable showers on the other; so that it supplies not only its own inhabitants, but likewise Italy, and the city Rome, with plenty of all sorts. For from hence comes not only abundance of corn, but of wine too, and honey and oil. Its iron mines are excellent; and it affords a breed of horses not to be matched for swiftness. Nor is it commendable for the good fruits of its surface only, but is no less so for the riches of metals, which it hides in its bowels. Besides, there is great plenty in this country of flax, and Spanish broom; and certainly no part of the world is more fruitful in vermilion. Here the rivers are not violent and rapid, so as to be hurtful, but gentle and soft; washing both the fields and vineyards in a kindly manner. They are well stock'd with fish, by means of the tide; and most of them are rich with gold, which they carry along with their sand in small particles. It is joined to Gaul by one continued ridge of the Pyrenean mountains: it is encompass'd on the other sides by the sea.

sea. This country is almost a square in figure ; only it grows somewhat straiter and narrower towards the Pyrenees, which run on in a continued ridge of about six hundred miles. The wholesomeness of the air is equal throughout all Spain, because there are no fens to plague it with fogs. And besides this, the gentle sea-breezes which fan the whole country, dissipate the exhalations from the earth, and preserve the inhabitants in an uncommon state of health.

C H A P. II. The bodies of the people are well fitted for enduring want and fatigue, and their minds are inured to the contempt of death. They are all accustomed to a hard, and perhaps excessive parsimony. They prefer war to peace ; so that if a foreign enemy be wanting, they seek for one at home. 'Tis common to see people here expire on the rack, rather than reveal a secret entrusted to them ; so much greater is their regard to faithful silence, than to life. The patience of a slave in the Carthaginian war, is much celebrated ; who was so glad to have revenged his master's quarrel, that he rejoiced in the midst of tortures, and, with a gay serene countenance, triumph'd over the cruelty of his tormentors. The swiftness of this nation in running, is incredible ; they are of a restless spirit ; and the generality are so fond of their arms and war-horses, that they would rather part with their lives than either. They do not prepare fine cheer for their festivals. They learnt to bath in warm water from the Romans, after the second Carthaginian war. In so long a course of years, they had no considerable generals, besides Viriatus, who harassed the Romans for ten years successively, with various fortune ; so much nearer are they to the temperament of beasts than of men. And as for this very general, they followed him, not ... one chosen by any judgment of the people, but merely as one who they knew had skill in foreseeing and avoiding dangers. He was a person of such virtue and moderation, that tho' he had often overcome consular armies, yet, after all his great exploits, he made no change in the simplicity of his dress, his arms, or his way of eating ; but persisted in the same plainness as when he first began

began to follow the military profession: so that any of the common soldiers seemed richer than the general himself.

C H A P. III. Many authors have wrote, that the mares among the Lusitanians conceive by the wind; which stories have taken rise from the fertility of the mares in that country, and the vast numbers of horses that are to be seen in Gallicia and Lusitania, which are so prodigiously swift, that they are said, not without reason, to be procreated by the wind. The Gallicians claim a Greek original to themselves; for they tell you, that after the Trojan war, Teucer becoming odious to his father Telamon, on account of the death of his brother Ajax, and not being admitted to enter his kingdom, retired to Cyprus, and there built a city called Salamis, from the name of his ancient native country: and that afterwards receiving the news of his father's death, he returned again to his own country; but being hindered from approaching it, by Euryfaces, Ajax's son, arriving upon the coast of Spain, he possessed himself of those parts, where now new Carthage is; and from thence passed over into Gallicia, and fixing his habitation there, gave name to the nation. Now a part of Gallicia is called Amphiloichi. This country is both very abundant in brass and lead, as likewise in vermilion; which has given name to a neighbouring river. It is very rich in gold too; so that they very often turn up with the plow golden ore. In the frontiers of this nation, there is a sacred mountain, which it is counted a crime to dig into by any tool of iron; but if at any time the earth is rent by lightning, which is very common in these parts, it is allowed to pick up the gold which is there casually uncovered, as a present from a god. The women manage the household affairs, and till the ground. The men mind nothing but their arms and plunder. Their iron is extraordinary, but their water is stronger than the iron itself; for the iron, by being dipp'd in it, becomes harder; nor are any weapons valued by them, which have not been tempered in the river Bilbilis, or Chalybs: whence those who live on the borders of this river,

river, are called Chalybes, and have the reputation of having the best iron in the world.

C H A P. IV. The Cunetes inhabited the forests of the Tartesians, in which, it is said, the Titans waged war against the gods, whose most ancient king Gargoris, first invented the practice of gathering honey. Having a grandson by his daughter's gallantry, out of shame for her incontinence, he endeavoured to have the little one destroyed various ways. But he being preserved through all hazards, by some kind fortune, he came at last to the kingdom; it being bequeathed to him by his grandfather, who was at last touched with compassion to him, for the several adventures he had run through. First of all having ordered him to be exposed; and then, some days after, sending some to seek the body of the exposed infant, they found him nursed with the milk of various wild beasts. Upon which, being brought home, he was, by his order, thrown into a narrow road, through which herds of cattle used to pass. Horrid cruelty, to choose rather to have his grandson trod to pieces, than taken off by an easy death! But receiving no hurt even here, and not having wanted nourishment, he threw him first to famished dogs, that had been tormented by hunger for several days; and after that to swine, who were so far from hurting him, that some of them suckled him with their milk. At last, he ordered him, who was yet unhurt by all these methods, to be cast into the ocean. Then indeed, by a manifest interposition of some deity, as if he had been carried on a ship, not upon a wave, amidst the raging billows, and the boiling surges, he was put ashore by the good-natured sea; and soon after a doe came, that presented its dugs to the infant. By his constant following this nurse afterwards, the boy became so extraordinarily swift, that for a long time, he ranged the mountains through herds of deer, with swiftness not inferior to theirs. He was afterwards caught in a net, and presented to the king, who discovered him to be his grandson, both by his resemblance, and certain marks which had been seen upon his body in his infancy. And then, from an admiration of his escaping so many
odd

odd chances and hazards, he was nominated by his grandfather to be his successor in the kingdom. The name of Habis was given him; and so soon as he received the kingdom, he so distinguished himself, and gave such signal proofs of his greatness of mind, that he did not seem to have been delivered in vain from so many dangers, by the power of the gods. For he united these barbarous nations by good laws: he first taught them how to break their oxen to the plow, and to till and sow the ground: and forced men, instead of their wild diet, to feed upon more agreeable food, from an aversion to what he himself had formerly been obliged to take up with. The odd adventures of this prince might seem fabulous, were not the founders of the Romans said to have been suckled by a she-wolf; and Cyrus, king of the Persians, to have been nursed by a bitch. By him too, all servile offices were forbid the people, and the commonalty were disposed of into seven cities. After his death, the crown continued in his family for many ages. In another part of Spain, and which consists of islands, the sovereign power was in the hands of Geryon. In this there is such plenty of grass, that were not the cattle taken off now and then from feeding, they would soon burst. From hence, in fine, is it that the flocks of Geryon, which in those days were accounted the only riches, were in such fame, that the greatness of the prize tempted Hercules to come from Asia. Besides, it is asserted, that Geryon had not three bodies, as the fables relate; but that there were three brothers, who lived in such concord, that they seemed to be governed by one soul: and that they did not, of their own accord, take up arms against Hercules; but when they saw their herds seized, endeavoured to recover what was violently taken from them.

CHAP. V. The Carthaginians were the first that possessed themselves of this province, after the monarchy was extinct: for when the Gaditani, being so directed in a dream, had removed the relicks of Hercules from Tyre, whence likewise the Carthaginians derive their original, into Spain, and had built a city there,

there, the neighbouring people of Spain envying the growth of this new city, and therefore attacking the Gaditani by a war, the Carthaginians sent them assistance, as their relations. Then, by a fortunate expedition, they both rescued the Gaditani from the injury designed them, and added the greatest part of the province to their empire. Afterwards too, encouraged by the success of their first expedition, they sent Hamilcar, as general, with a great army, to seize the province; who having signalized himself by great exploits, was drawn into an ambush, whilst he rashly pursued his fortune. His son-in-law Hasdrubal was sent in his room, who was also slain by a slave of a certain Spaniard, to revenge the unjust death of his master. Annibal, the son of Amilcar, a greater general than either of them, succeeded him. For he out-did all the exploits of both, and conquered all Spain. After that, making war upon the Romans, he harassed Italy for sixteen years, with various calamities. Then the Romans sending the Scipio's into Spain, first drove the Carthaginians out of the province, and afterwards carried on terrible wars with the Spaniards themselves. Nor could the Spaniards be brought to receive the yoke even after the reduction of the country, 'till Augustus Cæsar, having conquered the rest of the world, carried his victorious arms against them, and reduced this barbarous and savage people into the form of a province; after having polished them into a better manner of life, by good laws.

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A short Chronological TABLE. 323

	Years.
Demetrius	Six Months.
Pyrrhus	5
Lyfimachus	5
Ptolemæus Ceraunus	1
Eleagrus	Two Months.
Antipater	2
Sothenes	2
Antigonus Tonaras	36
Demetrius	10
Antigonus	15
Philippus	42
Perseus, the last king of the Macedonians	10

The Macedonians were conquered by Paulus Æmilius, and Macedonia made a Province to Rome. The Government lasted in all 154 years.

Kings of Syria and Asia.

	Years.
A ntiochus Soter	43
Antiochus Theos	15
Seleucus Callinicus	20
Seleucus Ceraunus	3
Antiochus Magnus	36
Seleucus Philopater	11
Antiochus Epiphanes	17
Seleucus Nicanor	32
Antiochus Eupater	2
Demetrius Soter	22
Alexander	10
Demetrius	3
Antiochus Sedetes	9
Demetrius <i>again</i>	4
Antiochus Gryphus	12
Antiochus Cyzicœnus	18
Phillipus	2

The Government of Syria continued 289 Years.

The

324 *A short Chronological TABLE.*

The kingdom of Syria had about 27 kings. They were commonly called *Seleucides*, from the name of him who first reigned in Syria. They count six of that name Seleucus, and 13 Antiochi. Under the 13, Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes, and Commagenes, Syria was reduced into a Roman province, by Pompey.

Kings of Egypt.		Years.
P Tolomæus, the son of Lagus, reigned		70
Ptolomæus Philadelphus		58
Ptolomæus Euergetes		26
Ptolomæus Philopater		17
Ptolomæus Epiphanes		24
Ptolomæus Euergetes		20
Ptolomæus Physcon, or Soter.		17
Ptolomæus Lachirus		8
Ptolomæus Dionysius		30
Cleopatra		22

The Government of Egypt stood after Alexander 288 years. All its kings were called Ptolemy's, but distinguished by particular surnames. They were also called *Lagides*, from Lagus, father to Ptolemy, first king of Egypt.

F I N I S.